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43. 1043.













# THÉOCRITE,

PAR

J. ADERT.

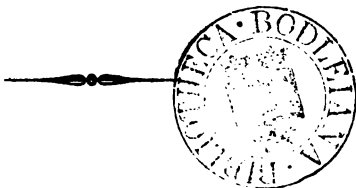
ANCIEN ÉLÈVE DE L'ÉCOLE NORMALE, LICENCIÉ ÈS-LETTRES ET RÉGENT DE LA PREMIÈRE  
CLASSE LATINE AU COLLÈGE DE GENÈVE.

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nec tam

Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendiſſe decorum eſt.

(OVID. Metam. X, 5.)



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**I. GEORGIO BAITERO**

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**TESTATVRVS**

**D.**

**AVCTOR.**



L'auteur de cette dissertation a voulu réunir et coordonner tous les témoignages de l'antiquité sur Théocrite, ainsi que les principaux travaux des philologues et des littérateurs modernes, depuis notre grand Casaubon jusqu'à nos jours. Il a cru ce travail utile, mais comme personne ne l'avait tenté avant lui, il a dû se livrer à de longues recherches qu'il se trouve heureux d'épargner en grande partie à ses successeurs. C'est dans ce but qu'il a multiplié les notes, et que tous les passages cités, à deux exceptions près, ont été scrupuleusement empruntés aux auteurs originaux, car son expérience lui prouve chaque jour avec quelle prodigieuse rapidité se copient et se propagent les erreurs dans tous les ouvrages de *seconde main*. Quant aux essais esthétiques et critiques qui suivent la dissertation, il a cru devoir les soumettre au jugement de ses lecteurs, avant de les faire entrer définitivement dans un travail plus important sur le poète de Syracuse.

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La nécessité de passer rapidement sur un grand nombre de détails, et l'impossibilité pour l'auteur de revoir ce travail dans son ensemble,

## VIII

ne lui ont pas permis de corriger bien des phrases obscures ou qui faussent même sa pensée : ainsi dans la première page : « que Racan réunit sous le nom gracieux de *Bergeries*, » il semble que l'on désigne un recueil d'IDYLLES que Racan n'a jamais composé, etc.... Le lecteur voudra bien excuser ces fautes

*Quas humana natura parum cavet natura.*

Il n'en restera que trop encore.

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## LES PRÉDÉCESSEURS DE THÉOCRITE.

### I.

Quel est le véritable sens de ces mots : *pastorale*, *poésie bucolique*, *églogue*, *idylle*, que les critiques emploient à peu près sans distinction? Les trois premiers sont faciles à définir. Les possesseurs ou gardiens de bœufs (βουκόλοι) occupant le premier rang parmi les bergers (1), ont imposé leur nom à toutes ces poésies que Racan réunit sous le titre gracieux de *Bergeries*. *Eglogue*, au contraire, quelque joli qu'il soit, ne signifie absolument que *choix* (ἐκλογή). Virgile et ses contemporains l'ignorèrent sans doute; mais les grammairiens l'inscrivirent en tête de son recueil, comme ils le donnèrent à toutes les poésies, quelle que fût leur nature (2), dont l'ensemble leur semblait un *choix* fait par l'auteur ou la postérité. C'est ainsi que quelques manuscrits donnent le nom d'*Eglogues* aux *Sermones* d'Horace, que Stace, qu'Ausone ont employé ce mot, et qu'à l'époque carlovingienne, il s'appliqua même aux poèmes satiriques (par ex. à l'*Ecloga de Calvis* d'Huchald). Toutefois Virgile, et après lui Calpurnius, en firent comme le titre par excellence des poèmes bucoliques, et c'est ainsi que

(1) Voy. Appendice, Idyl. V, v. 25, et Hardion, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. IV, pag. 534, où les distinctions entre les bergers de Théocrite sont très-savamment exposées. — Schol. Theocr. in proœmio : Τὴν μέντοι ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν ἐληφεν ἐπιγραφὴν, ὡς ἀριστεύοντος τοῦ ζώου. Théocr. Id. I, v. 86, c. Schol.

(2) « Proinde sive *epigrammata*, sive *idyllia*, sive *eclogas*, sive, ut multi, *poëmata*, seu quod aliud vocare malueris, licebit voces : ego tantum *hendecasyllabos* præsto. » Plin. Epist. IV, 14, 9. — Suétone, Vie d'Horace, donne le titre d'*Ecloga* au *Cum tot sustineas*. Voy. aussi Stace, Silves, III. Præf. Ausone, Epistola ad Symmachum, Ed. XI et Ed. VI Præf.

Pétrarque, Sannazar, le Mantouan le firent entrer dans la littérature moderne de l'Italie surtout et de l'Espagne (1).

Le sens et l'étymologie du mot *idylle* sont plus contestés, quoique, sans aller bien loin, ce nom soit assez clairement expliqué dans les Prolégomènes grecs en tête des Scholies; mais il se cache au milieu d'autres interprétations erronées. Nous avons en effet : Ἰστέον ὅτι Εἰδύλλιον λέγεται τὸ μικρὸν ποίημα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Εἶδος, ἡ θεωρία οὐκ Εἰδύλλιον παρὰ τὸ Εἶδω, τὸ εὐφραίνω. Ἄλλως. Εἰδύλλιον λέγεται, ὅτι εἶδος ἐστὶν ὁποῖόν ἐστι λόγος. Ὑποχωριστικῶς λέγεται Εἰδύλλιον. Voilà deux étymologies : idylle vient ou de εἶδος ou de εἶδω dans le sens d'εὐφραίνω : mais εἶδω est un barbarisme, et le Ms. de Genève corrige en οὐκ ἀπὸ ἥδω τὸ εὐφ. Il y ajoute même une troisième étymologie : οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδω τὸ ὁμοιω̃ εἰκότες γὰρ τοῖς προσώποις εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι.

Mais il est évident que la forme ἡδύλλιον, sans être barbare, a contre elle l'usage sans exception de tous les Mss. et de tous les grammairiens, ainsi que le mot latin *idyllia*, au lieu d'*hedyllia* (2). Quant à la troisième étymologie, elle a pour base une forme inconnue ; car εἶδω n'a jamais existé. Ainsi donc il faut chercher εἰδύλλιον dans εἶδος, comme ἐπύλλιον dans ἔπος (3). Nous ne donnerons pas à εἶδος le sens du Scholiaste, que semble adopter Forcellini, ni celui de Schlegel, qui l'explique par *image*, mais celui de *forme*, *species*, qu'il a presque toujours. Or, de même que les *Epinices* de Pindare furent désignées sous le nom général de εἶδη, par suite de la variété des sujets que le poète avait traités, de même les Alexandrins donnèrent le nom de Εἰδύλλια aux poèmes de Théocrite, qui par leur étendue admettent parfai-

(1) On dit même, sans que je veuille l'affirmer, que les poètes italiens réservent le nom d'*églogues* aux pastorales où le mètre ne change pas, tandis qu'ils donnent celui d'*idylles* aux églogues où les vers sont mêlés.

(2) Le Grand Etymologique cite ἡδύλλιον (p. 273, l. 41). L'εἰ des Grecs se changeait en latin plus fréquemment en e qu'en i : de là le titre d'*Edyllia* que portent quelques poésies d'Ausone.

(3) Ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω ξυλλέγων ἐπύλλια οὐκ ἔνδον. Aristoph. Acharn. 398.

tement le diminutif, et qui ont en effet toute espèce de formes (1) : les uns sont dramatiques, comme les Syracusaines, les autres ne contiennent qu'un chant ou un récit, comme le Cyclope; les autres enfin sont à la fois dramatiques et narratifs, comme Daphnis et la Magicienne. — Ainsi donc il est constant que le mot *idylle* avait une signification fort étendue, ce qu'il fallait prouver, pour le rappeler en traitant de l'authenticité des poèmes de Théocrite (2).

## II.

De l'étymologie de ces mots, qui ne nous apprend rien sur leur histoire, adressons-nous maintenant à la tradition, et discutons les récits qu'elle peut nous avoir conservés. C'est d'abord le Scholiaste : mais on prévoit d'avance que son témoignage n'aura pas un résultat bien positif, quoiqu'il ait compilé des grammairiens qui remontent aux siècles d'Auguste ou de Trajan (Théon, Amarantus, Amerias, Asclepiades). La fable et les récits des temps héroïques avaient depuis longtemps envahi l'histoire, et de même que la plus misérable bourgade de la Grèce, faisait hardiment remonter son origine à quelque divinité, les moindres faits de la primitive histoire littéraire devaient avoir pour auteurs des héros, enfants des dieux, sinon des dieux eux-mêmes. Quoi qu'il en soit, cette petite dissertation a pour titre : « Où et comment furent inventées les poésies bucoliques. »

« Les bucoliques, dit-on, furent trouvées à Lacédémone, et prirent un grand développement. En effet, lors de la guerre des Perses, et quand ils inspiraient la plus grande crainte aux Grecs,

(1) C'est ce que semble avoir compris le Scholiaste (Arg. I Id.) : Οὐκ ἤθελεν ὁ ποιητής (?) θεῖναι ἀλλοίας καὶ ἀλλοίας ἐπιγραφάς, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἀρμοζούσαν πᾶσι τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ. Εἶδος γὰρ λόγου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ διηγηματικόν, καὶ τὸ δραματικόν, καὶ τὸ μικτόν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπεγράφησαν εἰδύλλια.

(2) Voy. entre autres sur le sens du mot *idylle* l'élégant abbé Fraquier, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr., t. II, p. 130, et Wissowa, Theocritus Theocriteus, p. 14.

« arriva la fête d'Artémis Caryatis (1), et comme on avait caché les jeunes filles à cause des troubles de la guerre, quelques paysans entrèrent dans le temple, et célébrèrent Artémis avec leurs propres chansons. Leur muse, tout étrange qu'elle était, fut trouvée excellente, et la coutume en resta. — D'autres disent que les bucoliques furent introduites dans l'origine à Tyndaris, ville de Sicile, de la manière suivante : Oreste rapportait du pays des Taures en Scythie la statue d'Artémis, lorsque l'oracle lui donna l'ordre de se laver dans sept fleuves sortant d'une même source. Arrivé à Rhegium, ville d'Italie, il lava la souillure de son crime dans les fleuves qu'on appelle séparés : puis il se rendit à Tyndaris, ville de Sicile. Les habitants célébrèrent la déesse avec leurs propres chants, et l'usage consacra depuis cette innovation. — Mais voici la vérité : Il y eut à Syracuse une sédition dans laquelle périrent grand nombre de citoyens : une réconciliation la suivit, et l'on crut qu'Artémis en était la cause. Les paysans en reconnaissance lui présentèrent des offrandes, et pleins de joie célébrèrent la déesse avec leurs chansons accoutumées; et ce fut ainsi que ceux qui suivirent (οἱ ἐφεξῆς) oublièrent l'origine de cette coutume. » — Plus bas, le Scholiaste ajoute quelques détails assez curieux : « Les bergers chantaient, dit-on, avec un pain suspendu (à leur ceinture), ayant l'empreinte d'un animal, une besace remplie de légumes de toute espèce et du vin dans une outre de peau de chèvre qu'ils offraient aux passants pour faire leurs libations, la tête ornée d'une couronne et de cornes de cerf (2), et dans les mains une houlette: le vain-

(1) Voyez sur le culte de Diane Caryatis, Pausanias, *Laconiques*, ch. X. — Isidore de Séville, *Origin.* I, ch. 38 (Auctores L. L. Genève, 1602), traduit le Scholiaste. Servius (Prol. ad Ecl.) y ajoute quelques détails : « Collectis nautis suis et aliquibus pastoribus convocatis (Orestes).... »

(2) Voy. sur ces cornes de cerf, Potter, *Archæologia Græca*, P. I, p. 212. Ed. de Venise. J'ai cru devoir transcrire un passage de Diomède (liv. III, p. 483. Ed. Putsch.), parce qu'il est évidemment emprunté à

« queur prenait le pain des vaincus et restait à Syracuse, tandis  
 « que le vaincu allait dans les campagnes voisines pour collecter  
 « sa nourriture; il chantait des chansons gaies ou bouffonnes, et  
 « terminait en façon de souhait :

« Reçois la bonne fortune, reçois la santé,  
 « Que nous t'apportons de la part de la déesse, qu'elle-même appelle  
 pour toi (?). »

Ces récits cependant, quelque singuliers qu'ils soient (1), n'avancent guère la question, et les trois premiers surtout semblent avoir droit à la même origine. La tradition d'Oreste remonte sans

notre Scholiaste, mais avec certains détails que les abrégiateurs ont fait disparaître du texte grec. Je ne sais pourquoi les éditeurs de Théocrite ne l'ont jamais cité :

« Antequam Hiero rex Syracusas expugnaret, morbo Sicilia laborabat. Variis et assiduus ceremoniis Dianam placantes, finem malis invenerunt, eandem *Lyen* cognominaverunt, quasi solutricem malorum. Inde res in consuetudinem tracta est, ut greges rusticorum theatrum ingrederentur(?) et de victoria canerent. Habitus vero hujus modi videbatur. Erat panis magnus, omnium ferarum imagine completus (?), et uter cum vino, et follis cum omnium leguminum genere. Inerat et corona in capite et pedum clavatum; atque ita victorum omnium fores multitudo circuibat, carmen in victoriam, quam adepti fuerant, canebant, et de eo folle limina frugibus spargebant. Nonnulli et in Italiam et in Lydiam et Ægyptum transisse creduntur quos *Lydiastas* et *Bucolistas* appellaverunt. Quamquam est et alia opinio circum pagos et oppida solitos fuisse pastores, composito carmine precari pecorum et frugum omniumque rerum provenitum, atque inde in hunc diem (?) manere nomen et ritum Bucolicorum. Putant autem quidam hoc genus carminis primum Daphnin composuisse, deinde alios complures inter quos Theocritum Syracusanum, quem noster imitaretur (Virgilius). »

Je regrette de n'avoir pu trouver le récit de Probus que Welcker (*Sahrbücher für Philolog.* 1829. 3 S.) dit être fort important.

(1) Ce qui prouverait encore leur antiquité, c'est que nous les trouvons reproduits en partie dans la Vie de Virgile, attribuée à Tib. Cl. Donatus, qui, quel que soit son auteur, ne paraît pas remonter au delà du cinquième siècle.



doute à ces intrépides mythographes dont les fables renfermaient tout, donnaient raison de tout : car, pour qu'Oreste vint à Tyndaris, il fallait que cette ville existât, et Tyndaris n'existait pas avant Denys l'Ancien ; il la fonda pour les exilés messéniens que Sparte ne pouvait souffrir dans leur belle colonie de Messine (1). On dira qu'il s'agit ici d'une fête de Diane, et que la déesse indiquée dans les vers de la chanson est sans doute aussi Diane ; mais quels rapports établir entre les hymnes grossiers de ces paysans et la pastorale de Théocrite ? La tragédie, comme l'ode et comme la comédie revendiquent une origine presque semblable, c'est-à-dire extrêmement vague. Il en est de même du dernier fragment que nous avons cité : les détails qu'il renferme lui donnent une espèce d'authenticité, et l'on y reconnaît bien une lutte poétique ; mais ces combats sont communs à plusieurs pays : on les retrouve jusque dans la petite Bretagne et dans l'Ecosse. Ils deviennent plus tard un des principaux caractères de la poésie bucolique, et je crois que c'est de la vie réelle des bergers siciliens que Théocrite les a fait passer dans ses Idylles ; mais ces luttes n'auraient jamais pu créer la pastorale, s'il ne s'y était joint d'autres causes plus importantes encore et dont la tradition n'a gardé qu'un vague souvenir. Quant à la chanson, il ne faudrait pas y voir un fragment d'une primitive idylle : c'est une de ces chansons populaires, semblable à celle des *Mendiants*, qui nous est restée sous le nom d'Homère (*ἑρπαιώνη*), ou à celles de la Cor-

(1) On pourrait cependant faire accorder ces détails contradictoires. Entre Mylæ et Naulochus se trouvait un temple extrêmement célèbre de Diane Phacelitis, fondé, disait-on, sur le modèle de celui de Sparte, dans lequel Oreste avait déposé la statue de la déesse (Pausanias, III, 16, 6). Ces sortes de temples durent se répandre en Sicile et en Italie. Celui d'Aricie renfermait une statue de Diane Taurique (*Βρείτας*) ; peut-être s'en trouvait-il un à Rhegium (Cf. V. Patern. II, 25). De là le récit des courses errantes d'Oreste :

..... et sæpe, quod ante  
Optasti, freta Messanæ et Rhegina videbis  
Mœnia, tum Liparas, Facelinæ (et) templa Dianæ.  
(Lucilius.)

neille, de l'Hirondelle, que l'on trouve dans Athénée (1). Toutes renferment des vœux pour les personnes qui feront quelque présent à celui qui chante à la porte, et toutes aussi furent longtemps en vogue, l'une à Samos, l'autre à Rhodes, et la troisième à Syracuse.

Les autres témoignages historiques ne paraissent guère plus concluants.

Athénée ou peut-être Epicharme semble attribuer l'invention de l'idylle à un certain Diomus : mais ce passage est évidemment susceptible d'une interprétation toute différente (2). De son côté,

Du reste, on retrouve cette statue de Diane à peu près chez tous les peuples de l'antiquité : en Italie, en Sicile, en Grèce, dans la Tauride, au sud du Pont Euxin, à Antioche (Voy. Heyne, ad Donatum, p. XCII). Tyndaris n'était qu'à cinq lieues de Mylæ. (Voy. Diod. de Sicile, XIV, ch. 78. Ed. Didot.)

(1) Hérodote, Vie d'Hom. § 33. — Athénée, liv. VIII, p. 250, seq. Ed. Tauchnitz. M. Sainte-Beuve a traduit le Chant de l'Hirondelle dans une de ces charmantes biographies qui suivent son Tableau de la Littérature du seizième siècle (Ed. Charpentier, p. 472), et nous annonce un élégant travail de M. Rossignol sur les chansons populaires des Grecs. Tous ceux qui ont vécu quelque temps en Allemagne ne se souviennent-ils pas de ces petits enfants qui vont de porte en porte chanter :

Haveli, haveli, laue  
Die Fasnacht geht aue :  
Da droben in dem Hühnerhaus  
Hängt ein Korb voll Eier heraus.  
.....  
Glück schlag in's Haus.  
Komm' nimmermehr heraus.

C'est presque, chose singulière, une chanson grecque.

(2) Athénée, XIV, p. 13. T. « Ceux qui conduisaient les bœufs avaient une autre chanson, appelée *Boucoliasmos* : ce fut Diomus, berger sicilien, qui l'inventa ; Epicharme le cite dans l'*Alcyon* et dans *Ulysse naufragé*. » Ce Boucoliasmos me paraît singulièrement ressembler à notre *Ranz des vaches*, et je crois que l'on s'est mépris sur le sens de εὐρών τὸ εἶδος. Plus tard βουκολιάζομαι a bien signifié *chanter une chanson bucolique* (Théocr. Id. 9, 1), mais ταῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν βοσκημάτων me semble décisif.

Diodore de Sicile, Ælien, qui copie à peu près Diodore, et bien d'autres encore (1), nous racontent l'histoire d'un fils de Mercure, de Daphnis, dont les nombreux troupeaux paissaient les pâturages des monts Héræens. Il inventa la pastorale, nous dit Diodore (2), tandis que, suivant Ælien, la première idylle eut pour sujet les malheurs de ce berger. On l'attribue à Stésichore d'Himère, et c'est aussi par les souffrances de Daphnis que s'ouvre le recueil de Théocrite. Sans entrer dans cette discussion, que nous reprendrons en traitant de la première idylle, constatons en passant que Diane se représente encore dans ce récit (3), et qu'elle trouve plaisir aux chants harmonieux de Daphnis. Je ne crois pas que le hasard ramène ainsi la déesse, et s'il est vrai que la pastorale ait pris naissance en Sicile, ce que prouve l'accord de toutes les traditions, ne peut-on pas conclure qu'elle est sortie des fêtes solennelles de Diane, comme la tragédie de celles de Bacchus? Mais ces faits acquis à l'histoire littéraire sont encore bien incertains, et il nous devient absolument impossible de suivre la pastorale dans ses progrès, ou de remonter à son Thespis, car je ne sache pas que l'on ait encore dégagé le vrai de tout ce brillant alliage de fables, qui le cachent à nos yeux. Une seule chose nous reste à faire, c'est de chercher comment l'idylle a pu se développer en Sicile, tandis que partout ailleurs on ne connaissait que des chants de pâtres aussi sauvages que leurs troupeaux.

(1) Diodore, IV, 84. Ælien, V. H. X, 16. Schol. Theocr. Id. I, pass. VIII, s. f. Parthenius, Nar. 29. Silius Italicus, XIV, 466. Ovid. Metam. IV, 276. Servius ad Virg. Ecl. V et VIII. Ælien. H. An. XI, 13. Philargyrius ad Ecl. V. 20.

(2) Diod. l. c.... ἱξευρεῖν τὸ βουκολικὸν ποίημα καὶ μέλος ὃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τυγχάνει διαμένον ἐν ἀποδοχῇ. Ce témoignage de Diodore est surtout important en ce qu'il affirme que de son temps les bergers connaissaient encore ces *poèmes* et ces *chants bucoliques*. — Æl. l. c. Καὶ Στησίχορον γε τὸν ἱμεραῖον τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπάρξασθαι.

(3) ... καὶ διὰ τῆς σύριγγος καὶ βουκολικῆς μελωδίας τέρπειν αὐτὴν διαφύροντως. Diod. l. c.

## III.

Dans la plus philosophique de ses idylles, A. Chénier met en scène un chevrier qui vit libre, heureux avec ses troupeaux, et sous la protection de ses *agrestes déités* (*agrestum præsentia numina*), dont les mains bienfaisantes s'ouvrent sur les pauvres laboureurs :

La Récolte et la Paix, aux yeux purs et sereins,  
Les épis sur le front, les épis dans les mains,  
Qui viennent sur les pas de la belle Espérance  
Verser la corne d'or où fleurit l'Abondance.

Mais s'il jouit avec transport des riches campagnes qu'il habite, s'il ne voit partout que des dieux bienfaisants, s'il aime ses chevreaux, c'est qu'il est libre, tandis que le berger qu'il console est esclave : pour lui, la nature est une marâtre qui nourrit les autres et lui laisse sa faim ; ses agneaux sont la cause de tous ses tourments : ils sont malades, ils se traînent à peine, et sous les coups de son maître il expie cruellement la maigreur de son troupeau. Comment aimerait-il les dieux ? Ils lui donnent des fers. C'est pour cela qu'il maudit l'instant qui le vit naître, le tyran qui l'opprime, et le chevrier, qui, voulant le rendre moins farouche, lui fait présent d'une chèvre et de ses chevreaux.... il le répète sans cesse, il est esclave. Oui, la servitude antique, la servitude surtout de la glèbe, devait être l'état le plus horrible pour ces âmes humaines, qui, dans les riches campagnes de l'Italie et de la Sicile, n'auraient dû s'ouvrir qu'à des transports d'amour et de reconnaissance, qu'à des chants de bonheur dans les fêtes qui les réunissaient autour de leurs grossiers autels. Mais les parties montueuses de l'Italie méridionale, de la Sicile et de l'Arcadie n'ont jamais compté et ne comptent pas encore un grand nombre de laboureurs. De tout temps, ces pays ont appartenu à des peuples pasteurs, auxquels, pendant bien des siècles, l'odieuse

esclavage de la glèbe demeura presque étranger. Les bergers ont été toujours à peu près libres : ils se contentaient du lait et de la chair de leurs troupeaux, et jamais ils n'ont fait grand commerce de vin et de blé. Toutes les côtes au contraire étaient couvertes de champs et de vignobles qui pendant bien des siècles ont approvisionné les greniers des Romains. Or, l'esclavage, lorsqu'il existe chez les peuples pasteurs, prend nécessairement la forme de la domesticité ; les troupeaux parquent dans les montagnes, et l'esclave quitte son maître pour les suivre et parquer avec eux : et tandis que le serf de la glèbe ne connaît ni trêve, ni repos, le pâtre esclave au contraire, si l'oisiveté lui pèse, observe et calcule en Chaldée les révolutions des astres, invente en Arcadie le chant et la musique, ou crée, comme en Sicile, la poésie pastorale. Les pâtres repoussent, il est vrai, la civilisation, qu'acceptent si rapidement les peuples laboureurs ; mais aussi leur imagination s'exalte dans ces vastes solitudes ; ils se passionnent pour leur indépendance, et n'acceptent qu'en frémissant des devoirs ou des travaux qui les arrachent à cet état de paix contemplative où se trouve leur bonheur. Plaçons maintenant ces hommes sous le ciel toujours pur de la Sicile, au centre de la plus vigoureuse et de la plus riche végétation, et dans une contrée toute émue encore des poétiques fables de l'antiquité ; supposons-les à la fois oisifs, parce qu'ils dédaignent le commerce, et qu'ils ignorent toutes les jouissances du luxe ; libres, parce qu'ils sont nés et ont grandi dans leurs montagnes, sans souci des tyrans, des démagogues, des Carthaginois et de Pyrrhus, ingénieux et spirituels, car ils sont de race grecque, et nous reconnaitrons que leur âme devait s'ouvrir rapidement à la poésie, à l'amour, à la haine, en un mot, à toutes les passions impétueuses de l'indépendance. Comment sous ces ardentes impressions n'auraient-ils pas chanté leurs plaisirs et leurs douleurs, ces divinités champêtres qu'ils ne connaissaient que par des bienfaits ou ces enfants des dieux que la reconnaissance avait transportés dans le ciel ? Les images, les tableaux ne leur man-



quaient pas. C'étaient autour d'eux (1) leurs farouches taureaux qui n'obéissaient qu'à la voix de leur maître, les génisses qui paissaient gravement l'herbe des pâturages, les boucs aux bonds capricieux, les chèvres fuyardes, les brebis dont la tendresse maternelle est si vite alarmée, les chiens actifs ou sommeillant, le murmure des pins, la majesté des chênes, la redoutable obscurité des forêts. Ces images, ces tableaux, ils les transportaient dans leurs chants, lorsque assis sous l'ombrage d'un arbre touffu, après avoir réuni leurs troupeaux autour d'eux, ils se provoquaient à des combats poétiques, et pendant leurs *divins loisirs* (2) inventaient ou modifiaient la flûte pastorale, et s'essayaient à composer les paroles et les airs. Puis, la chanson s'encadrant dans un rythme facile, et pénétrant sans effort ces oreilles musicales, circulait bientôt en Sicile et en Italie (3). Ajoutez enfin à toutes ces causes l'éclatante gravité que prêtait à ces chants le dialecte dorien (4), et vous comprendrez comment la muse sicilienne, s'élevant rapide-

(1) Théocrite, passim. Virgile. id. — Voy. surtout l'abbé Fraguier, l. c. Diss. sur l'Eglogue, p. 133.

(2) Toute l'origine de la poésie pastorale est dans ces admirables vers de Lucrèce (V. 1378) :

At liquidas avium voces imitatur ore  
 Ante fuit multo, quam levia carmina cantu  
 Concelebrare homines possent, aureisque juvare.  
 Et Zephyri cavalper calamorum sibila primum  
 Agrestis docuere cavas inflare cicutas.  
 Inde minutatim dulces didicere querelas,  
 Tibia quas fundit, digitis pulsata canentum,  
 Avia per nemora ac silvas saltusque reperta,  
 Per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia.

Virgile (Egl. V. 14) : .... modulans alterna notavi.

(3) Théocr. Id. IV, 31, seq.

(4) Le fait du dialecte n'est pas ici sans importance, car il prouverait à lui seul que les Doriens avaient pénétré bien plus avant que les Ioniens en Sicile, et qu'ils s'étaient établis dans les montagnes, où ils exterminèrent les vieilles peuplades des Sicules. Les Ioniens ont toujours été amis des côtes et de la mer.

ment à la perfection, a pu créer un poète, et lui assigner une glorieuse place au milieu des grands noms de la littérature grecque. Et si je ne me trompe, et sans vouloir approfondir cette question, ne peut-on pas maintenant affirmer que la poésie pastorale ne sera désormais possible, je veux dire originale, que lorsque le poète se verra replacé dans un *milieu* semblable à celui de Théocrite? Si non, elle s'altère et s'enveloppe de l'allégorie, comme dans Virgile, ou s'efforce de remonter au fleuve homérique, comme dans Chénier, où la naïveté n'est plus que le résultat d'un travail à la fois exquis et opiniâtre. Les Martyrs et les Idylles n'appartiennent-ils pas à la même époque de réaction littéraire (1)?

#### IV.

Mais où placer dans l'histoire de Sicile ce développement si remarquable et cette passion pour les poètes et la poésie, qui s'étend depuis la cour voluptueuse des tyrans à l'humble cabane du berger? Ce développement, on l'a prouvé depuis longtemps, est étroitement lié à la prospérité matérielle et commerciale d'une nation : c'est ainsi que l'école des Homérides grandit dans les riches colonies de l'Asie Mineure; Athènes jette son plus vif éclat après Marathon et sous Périclès, et Marseille s'élève autant par son génie commercial que par ses savantes écoles littéraires. Je ne parle que du monde grec. Or, c'est entre le cinquième et le sixième siècle av. J. C. que la Sicile atteint son point culminant de splendeur et de prospérité. Syracuse, Agrigente et Géla se partagent la domination de l'île. Les Carthaginois sont refoulés, et se tiennent enfin en repos dans ce redoutable camp fortifié qu'ils se sont construit dans l'angle du cap Lilybée, illustré plus tard par l'héroïque défense du grand Hamilcar. Agrigente surtout est au comble de sa puissance commerciale, et ses vaisseaux sillonnent toutes les mers de l'Afrique. En paix avec Syracuse et Car-

(1) C'est M. de Châteaubriand qui le premier a fait connaître A. Chénier. Génie du Christ. Note XV.

thage, elle est le port franc où se rencontrent Africains, Asiatiques et Grecs, où s'échangent les richesses du Midi contre les produits du Nord. Bientôt grandit Syracuse : sous Gélon et Hiéron (1), sa suzeraineté s'étend sur l'île tout entière, et à la voix de ces antiques Médicis, se pressent Simonide, Epicharme, Bacchylide, Eschyle, Pindare, dont les hymnes assurent une éternité de gloire aux chars et aux coursiers vainqueurs dans le stade olympique.

Ce fut sous cette vaste et puissante influence, et dans le cours de cette éclatante période, unique dans l'histoire de la Sicile, que se développa, chez les Ioniens comme chez les Doriens, cette passion des lettres qui suscita tous ces poètes, ces philosophes, ces historiens, ces rhéteurs, dont les noms surnagent seuls aujourd'hui dans le déplorable naufrage de la littérature sicilienne. Que cette révolution, qui s'appuyait sur Agrigente et Syracuse, se soit rapidement étendue aux villes de l'intérieur, aux bourgades, aux campagnes, c'est ce qu'il est difficile de révoquer en doute : elles étaient prêtes, nous l'avons prouvé, à l'accepter avec enthousiasme, à la seule condition de la modifier selon leur génie. Ils laissèrent l'aigle de Pindare s'élancer aux voûtes du ciel, et, sur le sceptre de Jupiter, s'endormir aux sons de la lyre : leur âme s'ouvrit aux accents de Bacchylide et de Simonide, et les souffrances de Danaë inspirèrent sans doute les chantres de Daphnis. La pastorale était créée.

Mais si nous pouvons en quelque sorte dater cette naissance, il faut nous hâter de reconnaître que cette date ne repose que sur une hypothèse fondée sur des conjectures plus ou moins plausibles : les témoignages positifs, comme par exemple une idylle antérieure à Théocrite, nous manquent complètement. Il est vrai que Stésichore, nous l'avons déjà dit, avait fait un *Daphnis* : mais ce sujet s'est vu traiter de tant de façons diverses, que je ne puis admettre l'assertion de Gaisford (2), qui voit dans ce *Daphnis*

(1) Rapprochement curieux. Diomède (v. s.) place l'invention de la pastorale à l'époque de la prise de Syracuse par Hiéron (477?).

(2) Poët. Græc. Min. III, p. 337. Ed. de Leipsick.

un poëme bucolique. Cette discussion doit trouver ailleurs sa place naturelle : remarquons seulement que l'antiquité nous représente Stésichore comme un auteur extrêmement grave et pompeux. Denys d'Halicarnasse (1) vante l'éclat de ses vers et l'art avec lequel il observe toujours les *mœurs* et la *dignité* de ses personnages, tandis que Quintilien nous le montre chantant les guerres les plus redoutables, les généraux les plus illustres, et soutenant avec sa lyre le poids d'un poëme épique. Alexandre le plaçait au nombre des poëtes que doivent lire les rois. Rien dans ce portrait littéraire ne ressemble moins à un poëte pastoral, et si Stésichore eût ouvert la carrière à Théocrite, nous aurions sans doute quelque témoignage plus positif que l'indécise phrase d'Élien. Son *idylle* sur Daphnis était peut-être une de ces élégies nationales dont le sujet, comme celui de sa Calyce, se trouvait dans toutes les bouches (2), et devait tenter un poëte, rival d'Homère dans l'épopée, et que Simonide ne put vaincre dans l'élégie.

## V.

De Stésichore à Théocrite, c'est-à-dire pendant près de trois cents ans, la tradition ne conserve aucun nom de poëte bucolique. Tout à coup le voile se déchire, et nous trouvons à l'apogée de l'école d'Alexandrie, une pléiade de poëtes, qu'un témoignage formel, en apparence contemporain, place au nombre des amis ou des rivaux de Théocrite. Une école aussi nombreuse prouve péremptoirement l'antiquité du genre, et le poëte de Syracuse n'est plus qu'un nouvel Homère, qui absorbe dans son

(1) ... ἐν οἷς τὰ ἥθη καὶ τὰ ἀξιώματα τῶν προσώπων τετήρηκεν. Dion. Hal. De Veter. Script. Censura, II, p. 123. Ed. Oxf.

Stesichorum, quam sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces, et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. Quintil. X, 1. — Dion. Chrys. Or. II, p. 81. Reiske.

(2) Athénée, XIV, p. 14. (Tauchn.) ἥδον αἱ ἀρχαῖαι γυναῖκες Καλύπην τινὰ ᾄδην. Il cite Aristoxène.

œuvre l'œuvre plus obscure d'émules moins grands ou moins heureux. Cette conclusion, je l'accorde : mais je nie le fait suivant qui lui sert de prémisses, car il me semble plus que douteux.

On fait dire à Moschus dans son *Elégie pastorale* sur la mort de Bion (III. 94, 49) :

Πάντες, ὅσοις καπυρὸν τελέθει στόμα, Βουκολιασταὶ  
 Ἐκ Μοισᾶν, σέο πότμον ἀνακλαίοντι Θανόντος.  
 Κλαίει Σικελίδας, τὸ Σάμου κλέος· ἐν δὲ Κύδωσιν,  
 Ὅ πρὶν μειδιῶντι σὺν ὄμματι φαιδρὸς ιδέσθαι,  
 Δάκρυα νῦν Λυκίδας κλαίων χεῖρ' ἐν τε πολίταις  
 Τριοπίδαις ποταμῷ Θρηνεῖ παρ' Ἄλεντι Φιλητᾶς·  
 Ἐν δὲ Συρακοσίοισι Θεόκριτος· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι  
 Αὔσονιχᾶς ὁδύνας μέλπω μέλος, οὐ ξένος ὦδ' ἄς  
 Βουκολιχᾶς,.....

« Tous les poètes bucoliques qui ont reçu des Muses une voix harmonieuse déplorent ton destin et ta mort. La gloire de Samos, Sicélide gémit, et chez les Cydoniens le berger aux yeux vifs, au visage riant, Lycidas, fond maintenant en larmes, tandis qu'au milieu des habitants de Triope, Philétas pleure sur les bords de l'Halens, et Théocrite à Syracuse : pour moi dans l'Ausonie, je chante ce chant de douleur, car je connais la Muse bucolique. »

Ces vers, je rejette leur autorité, parce qu'ils ne sont pas de Moschus. Les Mss. offrent une lacune après le vers 93, et les anciens éditeurs, moins timorés peut-être que les éditeurs modernes, ne se sont fait aucun scrupule de la combler. Or

Ἐν δὲ Συρακοσίοισι Θεόκριτος...

semble clore une série de poètes avec le lieu de leur naissance ou de leur séjour, et c'est sur une donnée aussi douteuse que M. Musurus (Ed. de Junta, Venise, MDXV), s'emparant de quelques vers des *Thalysies* (VII, v. 12, 13, 20, 37, 40), se permit

d'en faire ce pastiche. Mais tous les éditeurs ne se trompèrent pas, et pour n'en citer qu'un exemple, Zacharias Calliergi, qui publia son Théocrite à Rome en MDXVI, c'est-à-dire une année plus tard, marque ces vers d'une croix et les fait précéder de ce petit correctif : Μάρκος ὁ Μουσούρος ἔλεγε τοιαῦτά τινα λέγειν. L'expression de τοιαῦτά τινα « quelque chose comme cela, » ne peut laisser de doute; et quoique Muret, et après lui Jos. Scaliger affirment avoir retrouvé ces vers dans *de très-anciens Mss.* (1), ils ne se sont pas encore représentés, que je sache, aux éditeurs modernes. En effet, l'imitation de Théocrite est par trop littérale, et la description de la figure de Lycidas sent singulièrement la paraphrase du σισαρώς (VII, 19, 20). Cependant les éditeurs ont suivi une marche toute opposée: c'est ainsi que nous trouvons ce passage supprimé dans les éditions d'H. Estienne de Winterton, tandis que Valckenaër et après lui presque tous les éditeurs modernes l'ont admis comme authentique dans le texte. De sorte que ces trois poètes, Sicelides, Lycidas et Philétas, se sont classés avec le titre de *bucoliques* dans l'histoire littéraire et y resteront peut-être longtemps encore. Enfin, une preuve plus irrécusable de la fausseté de ces vers et que personne n'a relevée (2), se trouve dans une erreur de chronologie que Moschus ne pouvait pas commettre. Philétas était mort depuis longtemps lorsque Bion fut empoisonné. En effet, Bion est un disciple de Théocrite qu'il a plus d'une fois imité: or, Théocrite n'a dû voir Philétas que dans sa première jeunesse, c'est-à-dire vers l'an 285 av. J. C., puisque le poète de Cos était déjà célèbre sous Philippe, en 340. En admettant que Philétas eût alors 30 ans, sa naissance se placerait en 370: or, la

(1) Valckenaër ad h. l. — Je n'ai pu vérifier ce que j'avance sur l'édition de Junta, qui ne se trouve pas à Genève; celle de Calliergi, qui est aussi rare et plus importante encore à cause des Scholies, est à la Bibliothèque publique.

(2) Je le crois du moins, car je n'ai pas vu le programme (dissertation) que Næcke a publié sur cette question en 1828 à Bonn.

mort de Bion, disciple de Théocrite, ne peut être antérieure à l'an 270, ce qui donnerait au moins cent ans à Philétas. — Enfin, Méléagre dans sa *Couronne* (1) associe *Hedylus*, *Posidippe* et *Sicelides* (Asclépiade), dont les poésies sont comme « ces fleurs sauvages » qui couvrent les campagnes. Comme rien ne prouve qu'Asclépiade ait cultivé la poésie bucolique, Hedylus et Posidippe doivent être écartés avec lui ; car ces « fleurs » ne sont là que pour la couronne que *tresse* Méléagre : cette expression, singulière ailleurs, est ici parfaitement juste, mais n'entraîne aucune idée de pastorale. D'ailleurs, et ce témoignage n'est pas sans importance, Suidas ne reconnaît que trois bucoliques grecs : Théocrite, Moschus et Bion.

Ainsi toutes les traditions historiques sont en défaut avant Théocrite : et quoique la pastorale se fût développée, aucun poète n'avait pu jusqu'à lui se faire un nom qui survécût à ses contemporains ou qui franchît les étroites limites de la Sicile orientale.

(1) Anthol. Palat., III, 1, 45. — Suidas s. v. Θεόκριτος.

## VIE DE THÉOCRITE.

On trouve à la suite des Prolégomènes ou des Epigrammes ces quatre vers qui renferment à peu près ce que l'on sait de plus certain sur la vie de Théocrite :

Ἄλλος ὁ Χίος· ἐγὼ δὲ Θεόκριτος, ὃς τάδε γράφας  
 Εἰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰμὶ Συρηκοσίων·  
 Υἱὸς Πραξαγόραο, περικλειτῆς τε Φιλίνης·  
 Μοῦσαν δ' ὀθνεῖην οὐποτ' ἐφειλκυσάμην.

« Il est un autre Théocrite de Chio ; pour moi, de qui sont ces vers, je compte au nombre des citoyens de la vaste Syracuse : Praxagoras est mon père ; ma mère est l'illustre Philina : jamais je n'ai voulu tenter une muse étrangère. »

Mais lors même que cette épigramme semble au premier coup d'œil ne laisser aucun doute sur la naissance de Théocrite, on voit bientôt que les anciens biographes sont loin d'être d'accord sur ce sujet. C'est d'abord Suidas, dont la compilation a pour base des auteurs fort anciens (1), qui nous dit : « Théocrite, rhéteur de Chio, disciple de Métrodore, disciple d'Isocrate. Il écrivit des *Chries* ; il fut l'adversaire politique de l'historien Théopompe. Il existe de lui une *Histoire de Libye* et des *lettres admirables*. Il y eut aussi un autre Théocrite, fils

(1) Ces auteurs fort anciens sont, si je ne me trompe, ceux dont la rédaction actuelle des Scholies nous a conservé quelques extraits dans les Prolégomènes, et qui bien certainement ne sont pas postérieurs au cinquième siècle (V. s.), ou si l'on aime mieux les Scholies elles-mêmes, mais avant leur rédaction définitive. L'Epigramme ne faisait que reproduire leur récit.



« de Praxagoras et de Philina : d'autres disent de Simichus, Syracusain ; d'autres disent de Cos. Il passa à Syracuse ; il écrivit les poésies qu'on appelle Bucoliques en dialecte dorien. Quelques-uns lui attribuent aussi les ouvrages suivants : les Proëtides, les Espérances, des Hymnes, des Héroïnes, des Chants funèbres, des Elégies, des Iambes, des Epigrammes. Il faut savoir qu'il y eut trois poètes de poésies bucoliques : ce Théocrite, Moschus le Sicilien et Bion de Smyrne, d'un petit bourg nommé Phlossa. » — Puis viennent les Scholies (dont la rédaction actuelle remonte peut-être au neuvième ou au dixième siècle), qui lui donnent Simichide pour père ou bien Praxagoras, en alléguant toutefois l'autorité de certains auteurs qui l'appellent Moschus, et prétendent que le nom de Théocrite n'est qu'un surnom, dont la valeur est sans doute la même que celui de Théophraste.

Tels sont, du moins à ma connaissance, les trois principaux témoignages de toute l'antiquité sur Théocrite : l'Epigramme, Suidas, les Scholies. Ce champ d'investigations n'est pas, comme on le voit, fort étendu : reste, il est vrai, les Idylles, qui sont d'une toute autre importance.

Commençons par discuter la valeur de ces trois témoignages.

Quant à l'Epigramme, elle se réduit aux détails que donnent Suidas et les Scholies, et je croirais volontiers qu'elle a dû servir comme de base à leurs récits. Mais Théocrite est-il l'auteur de cette épigramme ? j'en doute, car je ne puis m'expliquer dans quel but un poète, qui ne s'est pas nommé dans trente idylles, où sa personnalité reparait plus d'une fois (1), versifie sa généalogie en quatre petits vers qu'il ajoute à son œuvre, comme un marchand ferait d'une étiquette : et l'on serait peut-être dans le vrai en l'estimant l'œuvre d'Artémidore, le *collecteur* présumé

(1) Ainsi dans la VII<sup>e</sup>, la XVI<sup>e</sup>, la XVII<sup>e</sup>, la XXVIII<sup>e</sup>.

de notre recueil (1), qui répétait ainsi la tradition la plus vulgaire sans doute, et par suite la plus probable. La place qu'occupe cette épigramme et sa ressemblance avec celles de l'Anthologie (2) suffiraient seules à le démontrer.

Quant au témoignage du Scholiaste, il tourne au burlesque. Dans la VII<sup>e</sup> Idylle, où les anciens commentateurs ont cru reconnaître Théocrite sous le masque de Simichide, le Scholiaste laisse de côté Praxagoras et Philina, et lui donne Simichide pour père, sinon il le déclare *camus* (σιμός). L'idée est digne d'un Grec du dixième siècle. — Reste le surnom de Moschus. Mais n'est-il pas probable qu'il y a eu quelque confusion entre Théocrite et son heureux imitateur, et que leurs œuvres mêlées dans le plus grand nombre des manuscrits, auront fait donner à l'auteur commun des Idylles, le plus souvent le nom de Théocrite, mais quelquefois aussi celui de Moschus (3)? — Quant à Suidas, il ne vaut ni plus ni moins que le Scholiaste, et j'estime qu'il a puisé comme lui à la même source, si toutefois il ne l'a pas copié (4). Je ne sais que dire de l'énumération des poèmes attribués à Théocrite, et je crains bien qu'il n'y ait encore ici quelque confusion de noms. Du moins, l'antiquité est absolument muette à ce sujet,

(1) On trouve dans les Prolégomènes ces deux vers avec ce titre assez curieux : « [Epigramme] d'Artémidore le grammairien sur la réunion « des poèmes bucoliques. » « Les muses bucoliques étaient jadis errantes ; mais maintenant elles sont toutes d'une même étable et d'un « même troupeau. » Nous la retrouverons plus tard.

(2) Voyez la Section IV<sup>e</sup> du *Delectus Epigrammatum* de Jacobs, Gotha, 1826.

(3) Si je ne me trompe, le débrouillement des idylles est dû à H. Estienne : car je les trouve encore toutes confondues dans l'édition de Caliergi, Rome, 1516, et séparées dans celle d'H. Estienne, 1579, in-18. Cependant on cite une édition de 1565 (Bruges) de Moschus et de Bion (quæ quidem exstant omnia, hactenus non edita), tandis que les *Poëtæ Græci Principes* d'Estienne ne sont que de 1566. Mais ces dates ne pourraient bien se prouver que les livres sous les yeux, et je ne les ai pas.

(4) Voy. la note 1, p. 18.

à moins que le fragment de la Bérénice ne soit tiré des Héroïnes (1). Avouons d'ailleurs que le « Τινὲς δὲ ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς ἄν-  
 ρον » de Suidas n'est pas fait pour inspirer une grande confiance. D'où je conclus que Théocrite est né à Syracuse, que son père s'appelait Praxagoras, sa mère Philina, son grand-père paternel Simichus (?) (2), qu'il fut le disciple de Philétas et d'Asclépiade (3), et qu'il vivait sous le règne de Ptolémée Lagus et de Philadelphie en Egypte, et de Hiéron en Sicile, vers la CXXIV<sup>e</sup> Olympiade (280 av. J. C.) (4). — Ces détails, quelque restreints qu'ils soient, me paraissent fort précieux, parce que l'examen des idylles me semble les confirmer de tout point.

Et d'abord, Théocrite affectionne deux sujets, Siciliens entre tous, qu'il traite directement ou sur lesquels il se plaît à revenir : les souffrances et la mort de Daphnis et les amours de Cyclope. La XV<sup>e</sup> idylle, que l'on regarde comme son chef-d'œuvre, a pour titre *les Syracusaines*; la XVI<sup>e</sup> est adressée à Hiéron, tyran de Syracuse. Les Scholiastes placent le plus grand nombre des *chants amœbées* en Sicile, au pied de l'Etna, et si Théocrite quitte les campagnes de Syracuse, c'est Crotone ou Thurii que nous voyons dans le lointain, deux villes dont les rapports avec la Sicile étaient de chaque jour. Enfin, et ce qui est décisif, c'est que Théocrite donne le Cyclope comme son compatriote « ὁ Κό-  
 κλωψ ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν (5) », tandis que le médecin Nicias, en remerciant son ami de l'envoi de cette idylle, le nomme Théocrite (6), et que Moschus le place à Syracuse « ἐν δὲ Συρακο-  
 σίοισι Θεόκριτος (7). » — Puis viennent les poètes latins qui l'ont si souvent imité, mais qui, chose singulière, n'ont jamais

(1) Athénée, VII, 284. A.

(2) Telle est du moins l'opinion de M. Boissonade. Id. VII, 21.

(3) Voyez les détails qui suivent et Schol. Genev. ad Id. VII, 40.

(4) Casaubon ad Argum. Id. IV.

(5) Id. XI, v. 7.

(6) Ib. in Arg. Cf. Id. XXVIII.

(7) Id. III, 94 (ou 100).

écrit son nom : Théocrite est toujours pour eux le poète de Sicile. C'est pour ne citer que quelques noms, Virgile (?) dans l'Élégie à Messala (vv. 19, 20) :

Dulcia jactantes alterno carmina versu  
Qualia *Trinacriæ* doctus amat *juvenis*.

ou bien dans les Eglogues :

*Sicelides Musæ* paulo majora canamus (IV, 1).

ou

*Carmina pastoris Siculi* modulabor avena (X, 51).

ou

*Prima Syracosio* dignata est ludere *versu* (VI, 1).

c'est Manilius (Astron. II, 39) :

Quin etiam pecorum ritus et Pana sonantem  
In calamos, *Sicula* memorat *tellure creatus*,

c'est l'empereur Julien : « Εἴπερ ἀληθῆ φησιν ὁ Σικελιώτης ποιή-  
της (1)... » — Il est inutile, je crois, d'insister plus longtemps sur le lieu de naissance de Théocrite : Syracuse est sa patrie, et non l'île de Cos, comme l'ont prétendu quelques critiques modernes sur la phrase de Suidas.

Mais toutes les idylles ne sont pas également importantes pour la vie de Théocrite : il en est même plusieurs dont il serait impossible de dégager le moindre détail : tandis que la VII<sup>e</sup>, la XI<sup>e</sup>, la XIV<sup>e</sup>, la XV<sup>e</sup>, la XVI<sup>e</sup> et la XVII<sup>e</sup> (2), mises en regard de

(1) Λεοντίω. Ed. de Paris, 1583, p. 152.

(2) Je ne parle pas de quelques idylles dont la scène ne peut être précisée : ainsi la II<sup>e</sup>, que le Scholiaste place près d'Athènes et les éditeurs modernes près d'Alexandrie, car le poète parle d'une grande ville près de la mer. Je préférerais encore Syracuse : et mon opinion se fonde sur un détail bien mince, il est vrai, mais que je crois décisif. Simætha parle d'une *lionne* comme d'un spectacle extraordinaire offert à l'admiration du peuple. Or, les Alexandrins devaient en être rassasiés, tandis qu'à Syracuse une lionne était un animal assez rare. « O docti, *doctis* parcite quisiiliis. »

quelques événements historiques, rapprochées des faits déjà connus, jettent une assez vive lumière sur la carrière de notre poète.

Théocrite, avons-nous dit, est né à Syracuse : or, dans la VII<sup>e</sup> idylle nous le retrouvons dans l'île de Cos. Le Scholiaste nous apprend et le grammairien Chœroboscus avec lui (1), que Théocrite était disciple de Philétas, l'un des plus grands poètes du siècle d'Alexandre,

Callimachi manes et Coi sacra Philetæ (2)

dont l'école était fréquentée par un nombreux concours de jeunes écrivains. Théocrite y paraît comme *auditeur* (μαθητής) : il est probable qu'il se rendait aussi quelquefois à Samos, où le poète Asclépiade était à la tête d'une école rivale (3) qui jetait un éclat aussi vif que celle de Philétas. Les amis de Théocrite sont quelques jeunes gens des plus anciennes familles de l'île (4), et le confident de ses rêves de gloire et d'amour, l'ami de son cœur, c'est le chantre des Phénomènes, le célèbre Aratus (5). Unis pendant leur vie, Virgile les a fait revivre après leur mort, l'un dans les Eglogues, l'autre dans les Géorgiques, bien que leur génie les place à un long intervalle dans l'histoire de l'esprit humain.

Le séjour prolongé que Théocrite fit dans l'île de Cos le fit connaître d'un autre jeune homme dont l'influence fut grande sur une partie de sa carrière. Ce fut là qu'il se rencontra pour la première fois avec ce Ptolémée, fils de Lagus, qui fut plus tard le fameux Philadelphe, et qu'il se lia sans doute avec lui par une de ces confraternités d'études aussi puissantes

(1) Cité par Wüstemann, p. 106.

(2) Properce, III, 1, 1. Voy. sur l'âge de Philétas, Vossius, De Poëtis Græcis, chap. VII.

(3) Id. VII, 40. Schol.

(4) Id. VII, 5.

(5) Ib. 102.

dans l'antiquité que dans les temps modernes (1). Philadelphé était né dans l'île de Cos, en 301, et depuis son enfance, son père l'avait placé sous la direction du vieux Philéas (2). Il y resta jusqu'à l'âge de seize à dix-sept ans, et fut alors associé au trône par Ptolémée Lagus. Théocrite ne devait pas avoir plus de vingt à vingt-deux ans, puisque nous le retrouvons vers l'an 277 à Syracuse. Il était donc né vers l'an 305 dans cette ville. En effet, s'il est vrai, comme j'espère le démontrer, que l'idylle VII<sup>e</sup> soit un dernier adieu que Théocrite adresse à ses maîtres et à ses amis qu'il célèbre dans leurs familles, leurs amours ou leur gloire poétique, nous devons en conclure qu'elle a été composée à Cos : mais quoique la verve d'un jeune poète s'y fasse jour de toute part, le bonheur des expressions et les vivantes images qu'elle renferme ne permettent pas cependant de l'attribuer à un enfant. Or, on ne peut la placer qu'entre 285 et 277. Théocrite pouvait avoir de 26 à 30 ans. Toutefois les personnages allégoriques et les poètes réels s'y mêlent d'une façon si singulière qu'il est fort difficile d'y faire la part de l'histoire et de la vérité. Sans doute les contemporains savaient bien mieux que nous ce que Théocrite semblait leur dérober sous le voile transparent de l'allégorie ; comme au temps de Virgile, Pollion et Varus reconnaissaient le poète qu'ils aimaient, sous le hêtre de Tityre ou le vieux chêne brisé de Ménalque.

Quelle fut la fortune de Théocrite lorsqu'il se fut séparé de ses amis et de son maître Philéas ? on l'ignore ; cependant une conjecture assez plausible peut nous faire retrouver sa trace dans quelques-unes des idylles que nous avons déjà citées.

(1) Cf. Wüstemann ad Argum. Id. XVII. Il semble que ce soit une conjecture de Niebuhr ; mais je ne puis la vérifier. Quel que soit son auteur, j'avoue que cette hypothèse me semble parfaitement vraisemblable. Philadelphé à Cos devait déjà réunir autour de lui les jeunes littérateurs de l'école de Philéas, comme il réunit plus tard les plus grands génies de la Grèce autour de son splendide Museum.

(2) Voy. Suidas, s. v. Φιλάτας.

En 280, Alexandrie et Syracuse l'attiraient également, et de grands événements s'accomplissaient dans l'une et l'autre de ces deux villes. En 286, Ptolémée Philadelphie, à l'exclusion de son frère aîné Céraunus, s'était assis sur le trône de son père Soter, et ce jeune prince de vingt ans animé de la passion des lettres, ne pouvait avoir oublié son condisciple de l'école de Philétas et semblait devoir élever bien haut la fortune de Théocrite. Mais la patrie du poète avait droit à ses premiers chants; et d'ailleurs la Sicile était le théâtre d'une révolution que guidait le bras puissant d'un homme, aussi bon général qu'habile politique, et dont l'énergique persévérance venait d'arracher ses concitoyens au plus honteux des esclavages.

Dix ans avaient suffi pour anéantir et relever la puissance de Syracuse. Mænon, soutenu par les Carthaginois, remplaça le vieux Agathocles qu'il avait assassiné (289). Mais il fut chassé par Hicetas (280), et le gendre d'Agathocles, l'aventurier Pyrrhus (278) vint mettre le comble au bouleversement de la Sicile, en attaquant et en pillant indistinctement amis et ennemis, Carthaginois, Grecs et Mamertins. Toute l'île se réunit alors contre lui en une vaste confédération, et Pyrrhus abandonna ce *beau champ de bataille* aussi précipitamment qu'il avait fui de l'Italie deux ans auparavant (276).

Dans cette guerre de pirates et de brigands, un seul homme s'était élevé par son sang-froid dans les batailles et sa patience dans les revers : c'était Hiéron, vrai soldat de fortune à la solde de Syracuse (1). A peine Pyrrhus se fut-il retiré qu'il fut proclamé *stratège* (275) par ses concitoyens, et qu'il mérita ce titre en les menant aussitôt contre leurs éternels ennemis, les Carthaginois des villes occidentales. Vaincus en plusieurs rencontres, Hiéron les contraignit d'évacuer le territoire de Syracuse et de

(1) Hiéron II est quelquefois cité comme le descendant du fameux Hiéron I<sup>er</sup> : j'en doute, et ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est qu'il était fils d'une esclave; il n'en fallait pas davantage pour le rejeter dans les derniers rangs de la société.

reprenre leurs anciennes positions derrière l'Halycus. Il s'assure de leur neutralité par une alliance et court chercher les Mamertins dans leurs repaires. Il les attaque avec son armée, les bloque avec sa flotte, s'empare successivement de leurs châteaux forts, les ruine, et après une éclatante victoire est proclamé roi par les Syracusains (271). Les années suivantes, il les consacre à poursuivre sans relâche ces brigands, et lorsqu'il les tenait assiégés dans Messine et qu'il pouvait les emporter d'assaut, les Mamertins se livrent aux Romains, qui de l'autre côté du Phare attendaient avec impatience le moment de jeter leurs légions sur la Sicile (264). Hiéron fut battu par Appius Claudius Caudex. Reconnaissant alors qu'il lui serait impossible de chasser les Carthaginois de l'île, et que s'il avait eu besoin de dix ans pour dompter les Mamertins, une lutte contre les Romains ne pouvait être que désastreuse pour son peuple et pour lui, il préféra subir sa fortune, reconnaître leur suzeraineté et conclure une paix qu'il garda fidèlement pendant les cinquante années de son règne.

Or, quelques vers de l'Idylle XVI<sup>e</sup> servent à préciser assez exactement l'époque où elle fut composée :

Ἡδὴ νῦν Φοίνικες.... (v. 76<sup>seq.</sup>)

« Déjà les Phéniciens, aux lieux où le soleil se couche, ont tremblé d'effroi sur les promontoires éloignés de l'Afrique ; déjà les Syracusains s'arment de leurs lances et chargent leurs bras de vastes boucliers. Au milieu d'eux, Hiéron, semblable aux héros des vieux temps, ceint son glaive et se couvre d'un casque aux panaches flottants. » Cet appareil guerrier, ces armes, ces soldats, cet enthousiasme des Syracusains qui éclate dans les vers suivants, la terreur des Carthaginois, ne trouvent leur place que dans ces premières campagnes (274) d'Hiéron, par lesquelles il inaugura si brillamment son élévation à la suprême puissance. Mais au milieu de cet éclat et de cette ardeur martiale, pourquoi le poète est-il profondément triste ? Le mystère qui couvre la première partie de cette Idylle ne sera probablement jamais bien



éclairci. Peut-être les quelques années qui s'écoulèrent depuis son départ de l'île de Cos ne virent pas ses ambitieuses espérances se réaliser : peut-être sa famille s'était éteinte dans ces tourmentes civiles, ou bien sa longue absence l'avait-elle effacé dans le souvenir de ses amis et de ses concitoyens ? Ses plaintes sur l'indifférence de ses contemporains ne seraient-elles qu'un écho des douleurs homériques ? car Théocrite est méprisé comme le vieil Homère : l'or est le seul dieu que l'on adore, et les *riches grossiers, avarés, insolents*, ne le font plus descendre dans la froide demeure du poète. Abandonné de tous, sa voix se perd au milieu du fracas des armes et des angoisses de l'indépendance renaissante, et ses *Grâces* (Χάριτες), c'est-à-dire ses idylles, ou ses filles, pour parler comme A. Chénier, sont partout dédaignées.

Αἱ δὲ σκυζόμεναι.... (v. 8 seq.)

« Elles regagnent en gémissant ma demeure, les pieds nus, et  
 « me reprochent amèrement leurs courses inutiles : puis, lente-  
 « ment, elles reviennent au fond de leur coffre vide s'asseoir sur  
 « leurs genoux glacés, immobiles et la tête penchée sur la poi-  
 « trine. » — On sent le froid et la nudité de la misère dans cette lugubre description : et cependant quelle gloire éclatante ne dispensent pas les poètes ? Quel guerrier peut être illustre s'il ne passe par leurs bouches ? Et qui parlerait des anciens héros s'ils ne vivaient encore dans les chants de Simonide et d'Homère ?

Théocrite reproche sans doute à Hiéron cette pauvreté contre laquelle il lutte vainement, et qui forme un si triste contraste avec l'opulence et le luxe de ses heureux prédécesseurs à la cour des tyrans. Mais cette idylle ou mieux cette *élégie* respire plutôt l'amertume d'un poète aigri de longs malheurs, et maudissant le siècle où le sort le condamne à vivre, que la bassesse d'un homme, mendiant quelques oboles pour soutenir sa misérable existence. Ses plaintes furent vaines, et d'ailleurs Hiéron pouvait-il, au moment où l'existence et la liberté de Syracuse étaient remises entre ses mains, prêter une oreille attentive aux malheurs

du poète ? Théocrite les renferma dans son cœur, et jetant les yeux autour de lui, il vit que pour longtemps encore le tumulte des armes couvrirait la voix de la Muse pastorale. Il quitta sa patrie.

La lutte, en effet, se prolongeait avec plus de fureur que jamais, et les Mamertins, campés à quelques lieues de Syracuse, résistant en désespérés, remettaient en question à chaque combat la liberté de la Sicile. Mais par delà les mers il y avait un royaume qui grandissait au milieu d'une paix profonde, puissant par ses armes, brillant de tout l'éclat des lettres, et dont le trône était occupé par un jeune roi « bienveillant, ami des muses, plein de « grâce et de bonté » (Id. XIV, 61). Je ne parle pas de la confraternité d'études qui l'unissait à Théocrite. Assis sur les rivages de la Sicile, le poète syracusain avait sans doute cherché plus d'une fois du regard, et cru voir comme en rêve ces plages fortunées, plus d'une fois le moment de ce départ avait été fixé, sans que son cœur eût pu se dégager des liens qui l'unissaient à sa patrie. Enfin un jour il rencontre un de ses amis, Æschine (je suppose un instant que Théocrite est Thyonichus), auquel son visage pâle et sa moustache hérissée donnent l'air de ces misérables va-nu-pieds qui prennent insolemment le nom de Pythagoriciens. Æschine est désespéré : sa maîtresse le trahit ; le séjour de Syracuse lui devient odieux.... « Eh bien, que ne pars-tu pour « Alexandrie ? lui dit Théocrite ; va servir le noble Ptolémée, il « fait cas de soldats comme toi. » Æschine s'embarqua sans doute et Théocrite le suivit. — Cette idylle (Id. XIV), en effet, me semble comme un prélude au poème qui célèbre en termes si pompeux la grandeur du roi d'Égypte : bien accueillie, Théocrite pouvait partir ; rebutée, il restait à Syracuse. Mais son royal condisciple ne l'a pas oublié : il l'associe à cette noble pléiade de poètes qui grandissait à l'ombre de son trône, et l'ardente reconnaissance de Théocrite passe tout entière dans les vers qu'il consacre à la gloire de son protecteur. Ses termes sont trop expressifs peut-être pour notre superbe indépendance, mais ils s'excusent, si nous

les mesurons à la froide misère dont Ptolémée l'avait sorti. Et s'il célèbre avec enthousiasme cette vaste domination qui s'étend depuis les rives de la Carie aux cataractes du Nil (1), il n'a garde d'oublier cette petite île de Cos, où Philadelphes et lui vécurent si longtemps, et apprirent à aimer, Théocrite la poésie, et Philadelphes les poètes aux leçons du poète Philéas.

C'est ici que doivent s'arrêter nos conjectures sur la vie de Théocrite. Les Syracusaines et le Fragment de la Bérénice nous prouvent qu'il s'est fixé dans la ville d'Alexandre, dont il chante l'opulence et la grandeur. Peut-être voulait-il tenter de loin ses malheureux concitoyens, en leur vantant ces fêtes royales, en introduisant au milieu de ces pompes deux femmes, deux provinciales de Syracuse, qui contemplent pour la première fois ces merveilles sans nombre. Mais nous n'y trouvons rien sur la vie du poète lui-même, et les autres idylles ne peuvent donner la moindre prise aux moindres conjectures. A la mort de Bion (v. s.), un vers de Moschus semble nous représenter Théocrite à Syracuse, mais l'ἔν Συρακοσίῳσιν est trop vague pour nous permettre de l'affirmer, et d'ailleurs on ne peut fixer que par conjecture l'époque de cette mort ; et dans la XXVIII<sup>e</sup> Id. ces vers :

.... ἀμετίρας εὔσαν ἀπὸ χθόνος.  
Καὶ γάρ σοι πατρίς, ἃν ὥς Ἐφύρας κτίσσει ποτ' Ἀρχίας  
Νάσω Τρινακρίας μυελόν, ἀνδρῶν δοκίμων πάλιν,

nous prouvent bien encore qu'il est de Syracuse, et que cette quenouille d'ivoire s'est fabriquée dans sa ville natale ; mais Théocrite ne dit point qu'il y soit fixé, lorsqu'il adresse à Theugénis la charmante lettre dont il accompagne son présent.

Mentionnons enfin une tradition religieusement respectée dans

(1) Niebuhr, dans une dissertation sur les résultats historiques que donne la traduction de la chronique (arménienne) d'Eusèbe, a prouvé que cette idylle ne peut être antérieure à l'an 268. Voy. Wüstemann, Arg. ad Idyl. XVII.

toutes les vies de Théocrite, qui se fonde sur ces deux vers d'Ovide (Ibis 551, 2) :

Ut ve Syracosio præstricta fauce poëtæ,  
Sic animæ laqueo sit via clausa tuæ.

Ce poète de Syracuse, c'est Théocrite, et le tyran qui le fait étrangler, c'est Hiéron. Mais ce prince n'a jamais passé pour barbare, et *Syracusius poeta* ne signifie pas nécessairement Théocrite. L'Ibis d'Ovide paraît être à peu près tout entier copié sur la fameuse satire que Callimaque lança contre Apollonius de Rhodes. Or, il est probable que cet assassinat juridique aurait ému plus vivement les poètes d'Alexandrie, et que Callimaque lui-même aurait moins rapidement indiqué le trépas de son glorieux rival. Je ne vois dans ces vers qu'une de ces nombreuses traditions qui circulaient depuis longtemps sur le genre de mort du fameux Empédocle (1).

(1) Démétrius de Trœzène (Diog. Laërte, VIII, 41, 73). — Il faut reconnaître cependant qu'Empédocle est d'Agrigente, et que cette opinion sur la mort de Théocrite repose sur un témoignage fort récent sans doute, mais qui appartient encore à l'antiquité, sur le *Vetus Interpres* d'Ovide (l. c.) : « Theocrito Syracusio poëtæ, qui cum in Hieronis tyranni filium invectus esset, ab eo ideo est capi jussus, ut eum ad supplicium trahi simularet. Interrogatus si deinceps a maledictis desisteret, ille eo acrius etiam Regi ipsi maledicere cœpit, quare indignatus non jam ad simulatum, sed ad certum supplicium rapi jussit : quidam laqueo strangulatum, quidam capite cæsum prodidere. » — Cette mort serait encore plus digne d'un Epicharme ou d'un Philoxène que de Théocrite ou d'Empédocle.

## DE L'AUTHENTICITÉ DES IDYLLES.

L'incertitude qui plane sur la vie de Théocrite, les contradictions apparentes et les singularités de détail que l'on peut relever dans quelques idylles, ont fait mettre souvent en doute l'authenticité de quelques parties de notre recueil (1). Mon intention n'est pas de traiter à fond ce sujet, car il entraînerait de longs développements, et d'ailleurs cette discussion se trouve assez habilement présentée dans le travail de Wissowa (2) que nous avons déjà cité. Je n'insisterai que sur deux arguments, parce qu'ils me semblent renfermer ou dominer tous les autres, je veux dire : 1° les Manuscrits et les Scholies ; 2° le Dialecte.

### I.

#### *Les Manuscrits et les Scholies.*

Le premier argument, et peut-être le plus redoutable, puisqu'on ne l'a jamais complètement réfuté, se fonde sur l'état déplorable ou les énormes lacunes des Manuscrits. On a dit : « On ne trouve aucun manuscrit de Théocrite qui soit complet, et presque toujours les idylles s'y lisent dans un ordre différent. Serait-il donc bien étonnant que la XXV<sup>e</sup> s'y soit glissée par

(1) Le travail le plus complet sur cette question est : Reinhold, *De genuinis Theocriti Carminibus et suppositiciis*. Ienæ, 1819. Il avait été précédé par Heinsius, Warton, Walckenaër, Reiske, Finkenstein et surtout par Eichstædt, *Adumbratio quæst. de carminum Theocriteorum ad genera sua revocatorum indole ac virtutibus*. 4° Lipsiæ, 1794. — Wissowa lui-même avait eu pour guide *Spohn*, *Lectiones Theocriteæ* (trois programmes), Lipsiæ, 1822. J'ai eu presque tous ces ouvrages sous les yeux.

(2) Voy. p. 3.

« ex. pour être comme un complément de la XIII<sup>e</sup> ou de la  
 « Mégare de Moschus? De plus, en posant quelques principes,  
 « tels que le dialecte, la nature particulière de l'idylle, les cita-  
 « tions des anciens grammairiens, les imitations de Virgile et de  
 « Calpurnius, etc., pour juger sainement des idylles, et que ces  
 « principes nous conduisent à reconnaître comme douteuses la  
 « XII<sup>e</sup> ou la XXI<sup>e</sup>, ne pourrions-nous en conclure que les co-  
 « pistes ne les ont mêlées aux véritables que pour grossir leur  
 « volume, ou sauver des fragments étrangers qui sans cette pré-  
 « caution auraient infailliblement péri. Enfin les idylles qui ne  
 « se rencontrent que dans un ou deux manuscrits, la XXIX<sup>e</sup> ou  
 « la XXX<sup>e</sup>, ne semblent-elles pas sans autre preuve condamnées  
 « à sortir du recueil? »

Ces arguments sont ceux avec lesquels Eichstædt et surtout Reinhold attaquent l'authenticité du plus grand nombre des idylles, et leurs dissertations ne sont que le résumé des doutes de leurs devanciers. Nous allons montrer qu'ils ne sont pas sans réplique.

Remontons d'abord à l'origine de notre recueil. — La vie de Théocrite a dû prouver que différentes idylles avaient été composées en différents pays et à des époques fort éloignées. Reste à savoir si Théocrite a jamais rassemblé ses poèmes, et s'il en a donné lui-même une édition (ἔκδοσις) pour parler en Alexandrin. On peut l'admettre en s'autorisant de l'exemple de Virgile. On peut encore mieux en douter, en songeant au titre du recueil (εἰδύλλια), aux nombreuses Anthologies qui datent de l'école d'Alexandrie, enfin à une épigramme d'Artémidore qui me semble trahir la véritable collecteur :

« Les muses bucoliques étaient jadis errantes ; maintenant  
 « toutes ensemble, elles sont d'une même étable, elles sont d'un  
 « même troupeau (1). »

Et cette épigramme m'explique en même temps le quatrième

(1) Βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι

Ἐντὶ μιᾷς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾷς ἀγέλας.

(Voy. p. 24.)

vers de celle de Théocrite, sur lequel on a beaucoup discuté (1). Artémidore en est aussi l'auteur : c'est du moins mon opinion, et je crois qu'en disant :

Μοῦσαν δ' ὀθνεῖν οὐ ποτ' ἐφελκυσάμην,

il a voulu protéger de l'autorité de son poète l'authenticité du recueil qu'il donnait au public, et affirmer qu'il ne s'y trouvait aucune idylle de faux aloi. Et cette interprétation devient plus évidente encore si l'on adopte la correction du Ms. de Genève :

Μοῦσαν δ' ὀθνεῖν οὐ τιν' ἐφελκυσάμην.

Artémidore appartenait à cette grande école de critiques, qui se formait à l'ombre de l'immense bibliothèque d'Alexandrie, remplaçant les dons du génie par l'érudition et le goût. Il était disciple d'Aristophane de Byzance et contemporain du fameux Aristarque. Peut-être ne vit-il pas Théocrite ; mais son nom remplissait encore Alexandrie, et personne n'aurait osé l'usurper. D'ailleurs, des littérateurs qui pénétraient si profondément dans les textes les plus confus de l'Iliade ou de l'Odyssée, se seraient-ils laissé jouer par un imposteur, ou séduire par un pastiche, quelque habile qu'il fût. L'erreur me semble impossible, à moins qu'Artémidore ne fût le complice volontaire de cette supercherie.

C'est ainsi que s'est formé notre recueil. Quant à son histoire, nous ne pouvons que la supposer. Sous ce nom d'*Idylles*, on avait une réunion de petites pièces, indépendantes les unes des autres, et dont les sujets étaient très-variés. Que le caprice de quelques littérateurs en ait exilé quelques-unes, ou que les copistes, pour diminuer la grosseur du volume, aient retranché les dernières, qui sont aussi les plus longues : c'est un fait que je regarde comme avéré, puisqu'on le retrouve sans cesse dans l'histoire des manuscrits. D'ailleurs la diversité des genres s'y prêtait merveilleusement, et l'édition authentique d'Artémidore,

(1) Voy. pag. 20.

comme celle d'Aristarque pour Homère (*si parva licet....*), ne permettait pas que l'on attribuât à Théocrite des idylles indignes de lui. Il ne faut qu'ouvrir un catalogue de manuscrits pour s'assurer combien peu les anciens tenaient aux *Œuvres Complètes*. Ma mémoire peut me tromper; mais jusqu'à preuve contraire, j'affirme qu'il n'existe point de manuscrit complet d'un seul tragique, d'Aristophane, de Démosthène, de Plutarque, de Lucien, etc., à l'exception peut-être de deux ou trois volumes, l'orgueil et le trésor des plus opulentes bibliothèques : la masse, l'*ignobile vulgus*, se compose de pièces détachées et le plus souvent fort bizarrement accouplées. Je n'en veux qu'un exemple. Dans le manuscrit de Théocrite K (Milan), on trouve les Phéniciennes, les Perses, trois comédies d'Aristophane, Lycophron, Hésiode, quelques odes de Pindare, Oppien, Denys le Périégète et dix-sept idylles de Théocrite. Comment tirer un argument sérieux de ce véritable *farrago*?

Ainsi l'histoire des *Idylles* est celle de tous les recueils de ce genre; d'abord réunis en un corps, les membres du poète se dispersent çà et là, au caprice des copistes ou des lecteurs; et pour que rien ne manque à cette confusion, ces petits poèmes tombent dans le domaine des écoles, et les grammairiens les font servir de texte à leurs leçons sur le dialecte, le style poétique et les mètres. Arrivent alors les Scholies, qui ne s'étendent que sur les seize premières idylles. N'est-il donc pas de la dernière évidence, disent nos adversaires, que les grammairiens ne tenaient guère pour authentiques les quatorze dernières, puisqu'ils n'ont pas daigné les commenter? A ce compte, il y aurait neuf tragédies d'Euripide et deux comédies d'Aristophane qui seraient de sots pastiches, puisqu'elles sont complètement vierges de toute Scholie et de toute note antique. Cette singularité s'explique de la manière la plus simple. Les grammairiens, persuadés que les idylles de Théocrite renfermaient les modèles les plus parfaits de la poésie pastorale, les ont cherchés et les ont trouvés dans les seize premiers poèmes, sans s'inquiéter



des quatorze derniers, de même que sur les dix-huit tragédies d'Euripide, ils en ont laissé neuf sans motif autre que celui que j'indique. Mais il est certain que les autres idylles ont été commentées antérieurement au dixième siècle, et ce qui le prouve, ce sont quelques fragments assez importants qui nous restent des Scholies de la XVII<sup>e</sup> et de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> Idylle (1). Si le reste s'est perdu, la faute en est au *tempus edax*, et surtout aux grammairiens qui les ont négligées pour ne s'occuper que des premières. Ce fait sert d'explication à un autre argument que Reinhold présente comme péremptoire. Les anciens Lexicographes, Scholiastes ou autres, ne citent jamais les dernières idylles. Qu'y a-t-il là d'étonnant, puisqu'ils n'avaient entre les mains que les informes copies que l'on donnait à Constantinople pour Théocrite tout entier, et d'ailleurs le fait n'est absolument vrai que pour la XX<sup>e</sup>, la XXIII<sup>e</sup>, la XXVII<sup>e</sup> et la XXX<sup>e</sup>, qui ne se trouvent alléguées nulle part. De plus, ces recherches ont des lacunes, car l'amas des grammairiens et des scholiastes byzantins est loin d'être dépouillé (2).

Enfin plusieurs manuscrits confondent, dit-on, Théocrite, Bion et Moschus, et quelques idylles portent indifféremment en tête

(1) Il en est de même d'Euripide. Les Scholies des Troyennes et du Rhésus n'ont été publiées qu'en 1824 d'après un Ms. du Vatican.

(2) En fait de citations, on regarde comme un excellent argument les imitations de Virgile qui se concentrent dans les seize premières idylles. « Cur vero ex omnium reliquorum serie ne unum quidem versum petiverit, nisi de horum origine interpretum dubitationem jure exortam, admodum mirandum diceremus. » Reinhold, p. 40. L'argument est faux, suivant moi : car Virgile n'avait probablement étudié, comme tous ses contemporains, que ces seize premières idylles qui passaient pour les chefs-d'œuvre du genre, et d'ailleurs il retomberait sur Hylas, Thyonichus et les Syracusaines, que personne n'a jamais attaqués. L'assertion du reste est plus que singulière quand on rapproche ces vers (Virgile, Eclog. VIII, 404 seq.) :

Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti  
Transque caput jace : ne respexeris. His ego Daphnin  
Aggrediar : nihil ille deos, nil carmina curat.

les noms de ces trois poètes. Il faudrait d'abord prouver que sur les trente idylles de Théocrite, il y en ait une seule attribuée par un seul manuscrit à Bion ou à Moschus ; du moins les variantes des éditions de Gaisford et de Gail n'en font pas la plus légère mention. Que les copistes au contraire aient donné deux ou trois de leurs idylles à Théocrite, rien de plus simple à mon avis (1). Leur nom disparaissait sous l'éclat dont brillait celui de leur premier maître, et cette confusion elle-même n'est pas la moindre preuve de leur génie poétique. D'ailleurs ces exemples sont rares et ont trait bien moins à Théocrite qu'à Bion et à Moschus, dont les idylles sont en effet fort souvent confondues.

## II.

### *Du Dialecte.*

Une seconde classe d'arguments, décisifs pour certains critiques qui laissent de côté la question des manuscrits, se tire du *Dialecte*. « Théocrite, disent-ils, est un poète dorien, et ses principales idylles sont écrites dans ce dialecte. Ainsi toutes celles où dominera l'ionien et l'éolien seront d'avance condamnées, qu'elles se trouvent dans les seize premières, comme l'Aïtès, ou dans les quatorze dernières, comme les Dioscures (2). »

de ceux-ci (Théocr. Id. XXIV, v. 94 seq.) :

Ἢρι δέ, συλλίξασα κόινυ πυρός, ἀμφιπόλων τις  
 Ριλάτω εὔ μάλα πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο φέρουσα  
 Ρωγάδας ἐς πέτρας ὑπερούριον' αὐτὸ δὲ νείεσθαι  
 Ἄστρεπτος.....

Voy. H. Steph. Observ. in Virgil. et Theocr. p. 118, à la suite de l'Edit. de 1579, in-18°.

(1) Comme par ex. l'élégie sur la mort d'Adonis, que tous les manuscrits mettent sous le nom de Théocrite, quoiqu'elle soit bien sûrement de Bion. (Comp. vv. 69 et 70 de la III<sup>e</sup> Idylle de Moschus avec le v. 12 de la mort d'Adonis. Voy. aussi p. 20, n. 3.)

(2) Reinhold, p. 44 seq.

La question des dialectes est peut-être la plus délicate et la plus difficile de toutes celles que les grammairiens modernes ont abordées, et les philologues les plus éminents de l'Allemagne sont loin de tomber d'accord sur une multitude de faits, opposés en apparence, et qui se justifient cependant par l'autorité des meilleurs manuscrits. Dans cette incertitude, il semble que la critique ne devrait s'appuyer qu'en désespoir de cause sur les arguments que présentent les dialectes. Il n'en était pas de même, il y a cinquante ans : on traitait fort durement tous les textes qui semblaient ne pas vouloir se plier aux règles de Grégoire de Corinthe : la XII<sup>e</sup> Idylle, par exemple, était déclarée dorienne, puisqu'elle était d'un poète dorien, et malgré les manuscrits, malgré les premières éditions, on en proscrivait tous les mots qui ne se prononçaient pas la bouche largement ouverte (*πλαταιασμός*). Les critiques sont aujourd'hui plus circonspects : ils collationnent les manuscrits et constituent un texte, non plus sur leur caprice, mais sur la vraisemblance des leçons, « illorum (Bucolicorum) versus tractavi timidius ac diligentius, magnam ducens rationem Codicum, et circa Doricam orthographiam multo minus quam olim anxius (1). » L'aveu de M. Boissonade est formel : et Wüstemann, Meinecke et Mühlmann ont suivi le même système. De là les nombreuses formes ioniennes qui sont rentrées dans le texte des idylles.

Mais les poètes de l'école d'Alexandrie avaient-ils un ou plusieurs dialectes spéciaux, avec leurs règles déterminées, une lexicologie bien distincte et des formes grammaticales parfaitement complètes, des langues en un mot ? Il est permis d'en douter. Ils semblent plutôt éclectiques, et sacrifient surtout à l'euphonie, et quelquefois même, il faut l'avouer, à la nécessité du vers. C'est ainsi qu'ils parvinrent à concilier les lois immuables qui dominaient tous les genres de poésie, avec l'oreille qui semblait exiger

(1) Boissonade, *Præf. ad alteram Theocriti Edit.* Paris, 1837, Hachette.

parfois des sacrifices. Théocrite en offre un exemple frappant. L'*Aïtès* est un sujet lyrique, les *Dioscures* rentrent dans l'épopée : or l'ionien est formellement consacré à l'élégie par Simonide et au poème héroïque par Homère. Théocrite adopte donc le vieux ionien ; mais la critique de l'école d'Alexandrie et les travaux dont Homère était alors l'objet, l'avaient déjà singulièrement modifié, et lui-même le soumettant à son génie, le rend plus vigoureux et plus expressif par le mélange d'un grand nombre de formes doriennes. Et c'est ainsi que ces textes se sont hérissés de mille difficultés, puisqu'ils ne relèvent en définitive d'aucun dialecte, et que de nombreuses éditions se sont suivies, sans jamais se ressembler. Les manuscrits eux-mêmes, quelque bien collationnés qu'ils soient, ne lèveront jamais ces incertitudes, puisque le plus grand nombre ne craint pas d'intituler les idylles douteuses *Ἰάδι ἢ Δωριδί*.

M. Mühlmann (1) a tenté de déterminer, dans un excellent travail, les règles du dialecte bucolique. Il y a réussi, je crois, autant qu'un homme peut réussir dans un sujet, où les exceptions sont presque aussi nombreuses que les règles, et où il faut avoir perpétuellement recours aux manuscrits, dont les collations sont plus ou moins douteuses. Je ne les exposerai pas après lui. Mais s'il résulte un fait avéré de ce travail, c'est la singulière influence d'Homère sur Théocrite et ses imitateurs. Non-seulement son génie et ses idées les dominant partout, mais la forme même dont il les a revêtues. Hermann a prouvé ce fait d'une manière irrécusable pour Pindare (2). Théocrite a subi comme le poète de Thèbes l'irrésistible ascendant de

ce langage aux douceurs souveraines  
Le plus beau qui soit né sur des lèvres humaines.

(1) Mühlmann, *Leges Dialecti qua Poëtæ Bucolici usi sunt*. Libri tres. Lipsiæ, 1841. La seule chose que l'on puisse reprocher à cet ouvrage est la multitude des fautes d'impression qui en rend quelquefois l'usage assez pénible.

(2) Dans ses *Opusculs*, tome I, p. 246 et suiv.

Ce principe posé, une étude attentive fait bientôt reconnaître quelles sont les idylles où domine le dialecte dorien, modifié par le dialecte épique, et celles où domine le dialecte épique modifié par le dialecte dorien. Entre toutes les idylles, les plus doriennes sans nul doute, sont I—XI, XIII, XIV, XV ; puis viennent celles où le dialecte épique tend à reparaitre et usurpe fréquemment la place des vocables doriens : XVIII—XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXVII, XXX, tandis que l'Idylle XXV, où le dialecte épique règne à peu près sans partage, se lie à celles-ci par la XII<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup>, XXII<sup>e</sup>, XXIV<sup>e</sup>, où les formes doriennes reparaissent en assez grand nombre (1). — On voit donc sur quelles fragiles bases reposaient les arguments si souvent répétés, et présentés quelquefois comme irréfragables, de tous ces critiques qui ont voulu porter la lumière dans ces ténèbres philologiques, et renverser ce que nous avons si longtemps admiré sur la foi des anciens, sur l'autorité de tous les manuscrits et sur les témoignages réunis de la science et du goût.

(1) Ce qui m'étonne c'est que plusieurs critiques se soient toujours servis de cet argument du dialecte, lorsque Hermann en 1809 avait dit : « At ne Theocritus quidem ubique aut Doricam Dialectum, aut eundem Dorismum admisit, sed hujus rei fines qui monstraret, *præsertim in tam corrupto scriptore*, non dum inventus est. » (Ibid.) — Voyez sur toute cette question des dialectes, les opuscules d'Hermann, et surtout tome I, *Observationes de Græcæ linguæ Dialectis*, p. 129 et suiv. Après H. Estienne, dont les travaux sur le dialecte attique ne seront jamais surpassés, Hermann est celui de tous les philologues modernes qui a pénétré le plus avant dans ces questions si délicates.

## ÉTUDES SUR QUELQUES IDYLLES.

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### IDYLLE I.

#### *Thyrsis ou le Chant.*

Le cadre dans lequel se renferme cette première idylle est extrêmement simple. Deux bergers se rencontrent, un chevrier et Thyrsis, tous deux chantres excellents, tous deux prêts à faire entendre leurs voix, en s'accompagnant du syrinx, aux bords de la cascade, au pied de la colline des Nymphes. Mais c'est à l'heure de midi que Pan se repose fatigué de sa chasse, et le chevrier n'ose chanter de peur d'attirer sur son troupeau la colère du dieu. Remarquons en passant que les chevriers de Théocrite ne se montrent pas toujours aussi respectueux envers leur protecteur, et que pour eux, comme pour tous les gens à croyances faciles, il était avec lui des accommodements; que dis-je? ils le traitaient avec assez peu de façon. « Par les Nymphes, veux-tu sur ta flûte double me jouer quelque chose de gai? Pour moi, je prendrai mon syrinx,... plaçons-nous près de cet antre et réveillons le dieu Pan (1); — et si tu exauces ma prière, ô mon cher Pan, puissent les jeunes Arcadiens ne plus te fouetter avec des orties et les flancs et le dos, lorsque la chasse a trompé leurs désirs (2). » — L'excuse du chevrier.

(1) Epigr. V°. L'avant-dernier vers diffère suivant les éditions.

(2) Idylle, VII, 107.

serait donc assez mauvaise, s'il ne désirait entendre son ami lui chanter les douleurs de Daphnis, et pour faire oublier à Thyrsis la colère du dieu, il lui donne une large coupe, un des chefs-d'œuvre peut-être de l'Alcimédon de Virgile (1), un vrai *cyssibion*, « dont ne sert jamais habitant de la ville, mais que connaissent « bien gardeurs de porcs, bergers et paysans (2). » Mais certes quelle que fût la délicatesse d'un citadin, il n'aurait pas dédaigné cette merveille de l'art. Sous ses bords, que forme une guirlande de lierre et d'immortelles (?), se voient une coquette dont le sourire et les signes font le désespoir de ses amants, un vieux pêcheur qui lance son filet, une belle vigne que garde un jeune enfant et que dévastent les renards. Mais si grande que soit sa beauté, le chevrier la cède sans regret à Thyrsis s'il veut lui chanter la chanson de Daphnis.

Quel est donc ce Daphnis, dont le nom revient si souvent dans Théocrite et dans Virgile ? Ce n'est pas un Tityre, un vulgaire Corydon, c'est bien plutôt le héros des bergers. Pour quelques-uns (3), Daphnis est un personnage historique, un poète, le premier poète même, antérieur à Homère ; tandis que pour d'autres (4), ce n'est plus qu'un *berger distingué*, ou même un héros mythique (5), dont l'histoire, appartenant tout entière aux fables religieuses, est susceptible, comme elles, de plusieurs interprétations (6).

(1) Virg. Eclog. III, 37 et 44. Virgile imite dans ces deux passages quelques traits de la description de Théocrite.

(2) Asclépiade cité par Athénée, XI, p. 130, Ed. Tauchn. — Voyez les deux articles de M. Letronne sur les *noms des vases* et leurs *formes*, Journal des Savants, 1833, p. 304 et 615.

(3) Voy. surtout la dissertation de l'abbé Gouley, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. V, p. 86.

(4) Hardion, *ibid.* t. VI, p. 459.

(5) Van Lennep, Fréd. Jacobs, Welcker.

(6) Dans tout ce qui suit, j'ai laissé de côté les imaginations de l'abbé Gouley et de quelques autres commentateurs, qui bien certainement ont pris leurs rêveries pour la réalité.

Diodore (1) nous décrit le lieu de la scène. « On trouve en Sicile les monts Héræens, qui forment, dit-on, la plus délicieuse retraite que l'on puisse choisir contre les ardeurs de l'été. » Puis viennent des sources limpides, des arbres de toute espèce, des chênes, des fruits exquis, des vignes et des pommiers innombrables et si fertiles qu'ils nourrissent, sans s'épuiser, une armée de Carthaginois. Enfin, au cœur de ces montagnes se trouve un vallon enchanté, et ce bocage consacré aux nymphes où, dit-on, naquit Daphnis.

Tout ce magnifique paysage me semble bien poétique, et sans parler de ces monts *Héræens*, dont les géographes cherchent encore la position (2), et de ce Sicilien qui dit *φασί*, en décrivant un lieu si célèbre dans sa patrie, je croirais volontiers que Diodore avait sous les yeux quelque poète, Stésichore peut-être, car il n'affecte pas ordinairement le style des lyriques. Au reste, la tradition qu'il suit est celle de Timée et d'Ælien (3), qui l'ont transmise avec quelques modifications aux Scholiastes et à Servius (4).

Le savant Hardion a réuni toutes ces notions éparses et en a composé un petit roman qu'il intitule : *Histoire du berger Daphnis*. Il y parle « de la résolution qu'il prit d'embrasser la profession de berger » et « des objets sur lesquels roulaient principalement ses chansons. » Mais comme j'ignore les sources où Hardion a puisé ces singuliers détails, je me contenterai de dire que Daphnis eut pour mère une nymphe, et que son père était, dit-on, Hermès, dieu protecteur des bergers ; il fut exposé dans le vallon dont parle Diodore, sous des lauriers, et des

(1) Liv. IV, chap. 84, édit. Didot.

(2) Voy. surtout d'Orville, *Sicilia Antiqua*, t. I, pag. 27 et suiv. Si je ne me trompe, le nom de ces montagnes ne se retrouve que dans Vibius Sequester, p. 8 et 94, ed. Oberlin, et ce passage lui-même est, à ce qu'il paraît, sujet à contestation.

(3) Voy. dans les *Prédécesseurs de Théocrite* ces divers témoignages.

(4) Id. V et VIII. Voy. ci-dessous.



abeilles l'y nourrissaient de leur miel, lorsque des bergers frappés de ce prodige l'adoptèrent comme leur enfant, et lui apprirent, avec Pan (1) et les Muses, à chanter et à jouer de la flûte. Mais ici les traditions se séparent : presque tous les mythographes semblent suivre Stésichore, tandis que l'Idylle de Théocrite remonte à un autre ordre de faits, dont l'origine nous est inconnue.

Daphnis, suivant Stésichore, n'eut longtemps d'autre passion que la chasse et ses troupeaux, et ne connut d'autres divinités que la chaste Diane et Pan, son premier maître. Mais une nymphe (2) éprise de sa jeunesse et de sa beauté, lui fait jurer un éternel amour, et Daphnis consent à perdre la vue, s'il viole son serment. Longtemps il resta fidèle à sa promesse ; mais la *fille du roi* le vit, l'aima, l'enivra de vin doux, et Daphnis eut les yeux crevés comme Thamyris, Tirésias, ou le Lycurgue de Thrace. Il mourut, dit-on, de douleur (3), ou bien il se précipita d'une roche escarpée (4). La douleur de ses chiens, les chênes qui le pleurent sur les bords de l'Himère (5), sont peut-être un reflet du poème de Stésichore.

Le Daphnis de Théocrite, par suite de l'obscurité qui règne sur la tradition originale, a suscité de nombreuses discussions ; mais il en est trois que recommandent entre toutes les noms de leurs auteurs, Van Lennep, Fr. Jacobs et Welcker.—Van Lennep (6) ne veut chercher l'explication du Daphnis que dans l'Idylle elle-même ; car ailleurs il n'existe aucun fait, dit-il, qui puisse

(1) Servius ad Egl. V, v. 20... quem Pan Musicam docuisse dicitur.

(2) Tous ces détails sont empruntés aux auteurs que nous avons déjà cités et surtout à Servius, mais au Servius des éditions modernes ; car les anciennes ne donnent que des parcelles de faits, où l'on ne trouve à peu près rien.

(3) Philargyrius ad Eglog. V, v. 20.

(4) Schol. Theocr. VIII, 92.

(5) Theocr. Id. VII, 54.

(6) Van Lennep in Comm. classis tertiae Instit. reg. Belg. 1820, p. 157 et suiv.

jeter quelque lumière sur cette tradition. Daphnis est la victime d'un châtement injuste. Son crime est son insolente aversion pour Vénus et l'Amour, qui, pour se venger de son orgueil, lui inspirent une passion que la *jeune fille* (κόρη) ne partage pas et qui le conduit rapidement au tombeau. De là le deuil de la nature, les cris de douleur des bêtes féroces et la pitié profonde qu'il inspire à Priape, à Hermès. Enfin, les suprêmes paroles de Daphnis et l'audace indomptable qu'elles respirent, confirment aux yeux du savant hollandais l'idée qui domine toute cette composition, la lutte inégale de l'homme et de la divinité, la mort de l'homme et son triomphe dans cette mort.

Fr. Jacobs (1) estime la tradition plus simple. Daphnis, comme un autre Hippolyte, s'est vanté d'ignorer l'amour et de le mépriser. Vénus se venge également de son orgueil, en lui mettant au cœur une passion, que la *jeune fille* partage, mais contre laquelle il s'obstine à lutter, qui le terrasse enfin et qui le précipite au tombeau. Mais en expirant, Daphnis insulte encore l'Amour, et jusqu'aux enfers il sera le tourment éternel de ce dieu (2).

Welcker (3) croit que Van Lennep et F. Jacobs se trompent également. Daphnis est coupable: au mépris de Vénus, il abandonne cette Echenais, qu'il avait épousée au sortir de l'enfance (4), et depuis ce moment il résiste à toutes ses séductions. L'Amour ne l'effraie pas, mais il fuit Echenais (5). Vénus se charge alors de son châtement. Il s'éprend d'une autre nymphe, qui le méprise, comme il a méprisé sa femme, et il expire dans une langueur mortelle.

(1) Dans son Ed. de l'Anthologie de Brunck, Théocrite, Id. I, et dans l'édition de Wüstemann, ibid.

(2) Idyl. I, v. 103 et suiv.

(3) Voy. *Prédécesseurs de Théocrite*, page 4, note 2, à la fin.

(4) Idyl. I, v. 82. Comp. avec Idyl. VII, 82, et Idyl. VIII, 93. Appendice ibid.

(5) Idyl. VIII, 93. Schol. Timée cité par Parthenius, v. s. Servius ad Eclog. VIII, v. 68.

Cette dernière interprétation, quoique en apparence assez subtile, me semble préférable aux deux premières. Elle n'explique pas encore toutes les obscurités de Théocrite; cependant elle substitue plusieurs sens excellents à des traductions inintelligibles (1), et de plus, elle peut s'appuyer en partie sur le témoignage de Servius (2).

Virgile a-t-il suivi Stésichore ou Théocrite? Dans une question si souvent controversée, je n'oserais prétendre être seul dans le vrai, mais la V<sup>e</sup> Eglogue ne me paraît pas empruntée, au moins directement, de l'Idylle de Théocrite, à l'exception peut-être de quelques détails (3), et je ne puis y voir avec presque tous les commentateurs une allusion quelconque à la mort de César. Le *crudeli funere* s'applique également à la mort de Daphnis; et d'ailleurs Virgile était trop bon courtisan pour envelopper d'un triple voile ses allégories et surtout une apothéose, présage de celle d'Auguste. Je suis donc persuadé que, si le temps ne nous eût pas enlevé l'élégie de Stésichore, le Daphnis de Virgile n'aurait rien d'embarrassant pour nous (4), La X<sup>e</sup>

(1) Par exemple : Les vers 98 et 99, où le verbe λυγίζειν embarrasse tous les commentateurs. C'est un terme de palæstre qui signifie dans son sens ordinaire *donner un croc en jambe et renverser*. Daphnis, en quittant Echenais, a cru pouvoir lutter contre l'Amour; l'Amour le terrasse aujourd'hui. — Dans le discours de Priape (v. 82), ἡ Κώρα doit s'entendre encore de cette même Echenais que Daphnis abandonne et qui le cherche au bord de toutes les sources, au fond de tous les bois : ζατεῦσα forme donc un sens excellent et qui rend inutile les innombrables corrections qu'a subies ce passage. — Du reste, je ne puis comprendre comment Heinsius (cf. Walckenaër, l. c.) a pu prêter à la jeune fille le discours du dieu des jardins : Ἄ δούσερός τις....

(2) Hunc igitur quum Nympha Nomia amaret et ille eam sperneret, et Chimæram potius sequeretur.... Servius ad Virg. Ecl. VIII, 68.

(3) Vv. 25 et suiv. Théocr. ibid. vv. 71 et suiv. — Comp. aussi Théocr. Id. VIII, v. 74 et Virg. Egl. V, 74.

(4) On a dit : « Mais cette apothéose elle-même ne prouve-t-elle

Eglogue, au contraire, appartient presque en entier à Théocrite, et si je ne me trompe, elle confirme encore l'ingénieuse explication de Welcker (1).

Ainsi dans la tradition de Stésichore, Daphnis expiait subitement son crime par la perte de ses yeux et bientôt par sa mort, vengeance de la nymphe offensée. Dans la tradition de Théocrite, c'est Vénus qui se charge de la punition du coupable, et bientôt il succombe aux tourments d'un amour insensé. Celle de Stésichore est la plus ancienne et la plus naturelle ; celle de Théocrite repose tout entière sur la croyance moderne de l'*Anteros* (2).

C'est ainsi que Daphnis est devenu le héros des bergers : berger lui-même, il entre en lutte avec une déesse, il se vante de l'avoir vaincue. Et ce chant de Thyrsis n'avait-il pas pour ori-

pas qu'il s'agit ici de César et non de Daphnis ? » Non, car s'il est vrai que Servius ait suivi la tradition de Stésichore, cette apotheose appartenait au poète d'Agrigente : « (Daphnis) in auxilium patrem Mercurium invocavit, qui eum in cælum eripuit, et in eo loco fontem elicit, qui Daphnis vocatur, apud quem quotannis Siculi sacrificant. » Servius, Eclog. V, v. 20.

Pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quotannis  
Craterasque duo statuam tibi pinguis olivi.  
(Ib. v. 67.)

Au reste, ces offrandes étaient celles que l'on faisait aux héros, tandis que César était alors considéré comme le plus puissant des dieux, et si Virgile, dans l'Eglogue I (v. 8 et 44), immole des agneaux sur les autels d'Auguste (Voy. aussi Géorg. III, 23), je doute qu'il se fût contenté pour César de deux coupes d'huile et de lait écumant.

(1) Le cadre est le même dans la première partie de l'Eglogue. C'est Gallus qui périt consumé par un cruel amour : puis viennent les bergers Apollon, Silvain et Pan, qui essaient, mais en vain, de le consoler. Dans le tableau de l'égarement de son ami, Virgile me semble s'être rappelé les premières scènes de l'Hippolyte d'Euripide.

(2) Voy. Narcisse (Philostrate, Imagg. I, 23) et Smyrna (Apollod. III, 14, 4).

gine quelque chanson de pâtre sicilien ? Aurait-il été chanté pendant ces sacrifices solennels dont parle Servius (1) ? Il a toute l'impétuosité du génie méridional unie à la variété du génie grec : la grâce de l'idylle s'y mêle à la douleur de l'élégie ; mais quelle que soit leur couleur locale, on voudrait en effacer les discours si singulièrement consolateurs de l'impudique dieu des jardins. Partout ailleurs on y retrouve l'énergique tableau de cette lutte, si familière aux anciens poètes, où s'engage l'âme humaine contre la souveraine puissance des Olympiens, et cette inflexible volonté qui triomphe des tourments et de la mort ; et si cette comparaison n'est pas trop ambitieuse, si l'humble idylle de Théocrite peut se mettre en regard d'une œuvre gigantesque, quand le Titan Prométhée, prêt d'être foudroyé par Jupiter, s'écrie : « Qu'il me précipite impitoyablement dans le Tartare ! qu'il livre mon corps aux irrésistibles tourbillons de la nécessité : n'importe, il ne pourra me donner la mort (2). Ne semble-t-il pas que cet effrayant combat inspire Théocrite, lorsque son Daphnis insulte si durement Vénus : « Détestable Cypris, odieuse Cypris, Cypris qu'abhorrent les mortels, tout m'annonce que c'est le dernier soleil qui se couche pour Daphnis (3) ; mais Daphnis, même aux enfers, sera le tourment de l'amour. » — Puis viennent ses adieux à toute la nature, aux loups, aux lynx, et aux ours qui rugissent de douleur dans les forêts, à la fraîche Aréthuse, aux fleuves qui se précipitent dans le Thymbris.

Mais c'est vers Pan, c'est vers le dieu des bergers, son maître, que volent ses dernières pensées : c'est à lui seul qu'il remettra sa flûte que le dieu seul est digne de recevoir de ses mains défaillantes.

Le tableau qui termine ces plaintes est un de ceux que les anciens poètes ont le plus affectionnés, mais qui pour nous sont

(1) Voy. note 1, p. 46.

(2) *Æsch. Prom. v. 1051*, Didot.

(3) *Ibid. v. 101 seq.* J'ai suivi dans cet avant dernier vers l'interprétation la plus ordinaire.

tombés dans l'inexorable lieu commun. La mort cruelle de Daphnis va bouleverser la nature : les fleurs perdront leur éclat, les arbres seront dépouillés de leurs fruits, et le hibou sur les montagnes défilera le rossignol :

Certent et cycnis ululæ, sit Tityrus Orpheus.

Daphnis est mort : le chant de Thyrsis s'arrête, et de la coupe promise il verse en l'honneur des Muses une libation de lait pur.

Une autre tradition place Daphnis en Phrygie, chez le roi Lityerse. (Cf. X<sup>e</sup> Id. v. 43, Suidas s. vv. Διτυρίσης, ἀλυστήσας. Casaubon, ad Sosibii (?) fragm. in Lection. Theocr. pag. 389. Hermann, Opuscula, tom. I, pag. 53). Mais tous ces détails me semblent tenir singulièrement de la parodie. Des voleurs ont enlevé la maîtresse de Daphnis et l'ont vendue à Lityerse : Daphnis veut la sauver ; mais vaincu par son rival dans la coupe des blés, il est sur le point d'avoir la tête tranchée sur les gerbes qu'il a faites, lorsque Hercule (maximus ultor) arrive, tue le ravisseur, rend à Daphnis sa *Grosse* (Piplea), et l'établit dans le palais du roi (1). Plus tard cette tradition se confond avec les deux premières ; de là l'épithète de *Idæus* qu'Ovide donne à Daphnis (Met. IV, 277), les leçons que Marsyas reçoit du berger sicilien et le titre du drame de Sosithee : *Daphnis ou Lityerse* ; voy. Athénée, X, p. 9, Tauchnitz, et Idylle VIII, v. 93. Schol. La présence de Marsyas n'indiquerait-elle pas quelque drame satirique ?—Voy. Welcker, ibid. Magnin, Les Origines du théâtre moderne, I, p. 159.

(1) Sed Hercules miseratus Daphnidis et audita conditione certaminis, facem ad metendum accepit, eaque caput regi amputavit : ita Daphnim periculo liberavit, et ei *Pipleam*, quam alii *Italiam* dicunt, reeddidit : quibus, dotis nomine, aulam quoque regiam condonavit, ferali sopito metendi carmine (certamine?). *Servius*.

## IDYLLE II.

*La Magicienne.*

« J'ai ouï dire à M. Racine, si bon juge et si grand maître en cette matière, qu'il n'a rien vu de plus vif et de plus beau dans l'antiquité que la Magicienne de Théocrite (Longepierre). » Cette admiration de Racine n'a rien qui doive nous surprendre, et la douloureuse passion qui remplissait d'orages intérieurs les premières années de sa carrière, suffirait seule à l'expliquer. Déjà, sous César, le spirituel introducteur des Alexandrins à Rome, Catulle, avait traduit ou plutôt imité cette idylle, sans doute comme la *Chevelure de Bérénice* de Callimaque, ou l'*Epithalame de Thétis et de Pélée* (1). Mais ce poème pâlit et disparaît peut-être devant la VIII<sup>e</sup> Eglogue de Virgile et les sublimes emportements de Didon, tandis que l'Idylle de Théocrite et ses énergiques inspirations, admirées dans tous les temps avec transport, ont laissé une trace profonde, qui va depuis la Didon de Virgile à l'Armide du Tasse et à la Circé de J.-B. Rousseau.

On sait l'influence que la magie exerçait sur les Grecs. Leur imagination ne pouvait rester emprisonnée dans le cercle étroit de la réalité. Elle franchissait sans cesse ses limites, et s'enfonçait aventureusement dans ce monde invisible que tant de sages ont vainement essayé de sonder. La magie leur venait de l'Orient, et les premières traditions héroïques nous montrent Médée, quittant les rives du Phase, et de ses meurtres exécrables épouvan-

(1) L'*Epithalame de Thétis et de Pélée* appartient bien certainement à quelque poète grec, à moins que Catulle n'ait pris çà et là plusieurs fragments et ne les ait réunis en un poème unique, ce que semble prouver le peu de proportion des différentes parties qui le composent. — Hinc Theocriti apud Græcos, Catulli apud nos, proximeque Virgilii, incantamentorum amatoria imitatio. Plinius, Hist. Nat. XXVIII, 4. Brotier.

tant la Thessalie et Corinthe. Dès lors, les cérémonies magiques se multiplièrent : Circé, Périclès, Ulysse, Tirésias, Chiron, les fils d'Esculape, les mettent au service de leurs passions ou les consacrent à la guérison de leurs semblables, et mille ans plus tard elles remplissent encore tous les romans qui se succèdent du second au douzième siècle. Cependant la magie, suivant l'histoire et les traditions des poètes, se développe, atteint sa perfection en Thessalie, et de là se répand au milieu des populations doriennes, dont le caractère, plus énergique et plus sombre que celui des Ioniens, était plus accessible à ses mystérieux appareils. Bientôt elle devient cruelle : les tombes sont violées, des enfants égorgés, les assassinats et les empoisonnements se multiplient, et les lois commencent à sévir contre ces criminelles Canidies, qui ne reculent plus devant le sang et le meurtre. Démosthène lui-même, le grand Démosthène, descend sur la place publique, accuse la prêtresse Théodoris (1), « cette infâme « magicienne de Lemnos » et la fait condamner à mort ! De l'Asie et de la Grèce, ce fléau envahit Rome et toute l'Italie, et le fameux sénatusconsulte *De Bacchanalibus* fut impuissant pour arrêter ces effrayants désordres. Il décrétait cependant la mort contre tous ceux qui seraient surpris assistant à ces mystérieuses cérémonies (2). La loi des XII Tables punissait déjà du dernier supplice celui qui aurait *enchanté* les moissons d'autrui (3).

C'est au milieu de ces redoutables accessoires qu'il nous faut maintenant placer la Magicienne de Théocrite.

(1) Plutarque, Vie de Démosth., chap. XVII. — Demosth. Orat. adv. Aristog., pag. 186.

(2) *Sei ques esent quei arvorum ead fecisent, quam suprad scriptum est, eis rem capitalem faciendam censuere...* — *Venena indidem et intestinæ cædes : ita ut ne corpora quidem interdum ad sepulturam exstarent...* Non illos qui *pravis et externis religionibus* captas mentes velut furialibus stimulis ad omne scelus et ad omnem libidinem agerent... (Tit. Liv. XXXIX, 9 et suiv.)

(3) Plin. l. 1.



Elle est seule, dans un de ces carrefours consacrés à Hécate, accomplissant avec son esclave Thestylis les rites sacrés, mêlant les poisons, prononçant les paroles magiques, ... elle veut dompter le cœur du parjure Delphis, et ses enchantements vont bientôt le poursuivre. « O lune, éclaire-nous de tes rayons, car mes prières qui montent doucement jusqu'à toi, invoqueront aussi la souterraine Hécate, devant qui tremblent les jeunes chiens, lorsqu'elle s'avance à travers les sépulcres des morts et le sang noir des victimes (v. 12), » et l'enchantement commence avec ce vers, qui revient comme un refrain à des intervalles marqués :

« Iynx, attire mon amant dans ma maison. »

Cependant le goût exquis de Théocrite lui fait comprendre que les mains de Simæthe ne peuvent se tremper dans le sang, qu'elle ne doit pas errer au milieu des tombeaux, fouiller des ossements, égorger un enfant ou l'enterrer vivant, que l'horrible en un mot, quelque facile qu'il fût de le justifier par l'ardente passion de la Magicienne, ne doit pas souiller cette mystérieuse cérémonie, et que la bouche d'une amante ne peut s'ouvrir aux affreuses malédictions de Sagane ou d'Erichtho (1).

Mais l'horrible écarté, comment Théocrite et Virgile sauveront-ils l'enfantillage de ces lauriers, de cette statuette, de ce rhombus, de cet hippomane, de ces franges, de ce lézard ?..... Par un artifice bien simple, et pris, comme diraient les anciens rhéteurs, dans les *entrailles du sujet*, ils animeront tous ces objets et leur donneront à tous une action sur le cœur du parjure :

Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum.

Son indifférence se fondra comme cette cire exposée à l'ardeur

(1) Horace, Epod. V. — Lucain VI, 418 et suiv.... — ῥόμβον πιστρέφει ἰπποδὴν τινα λέγουσα, ἐπιτρέχῃ τῇ γλώσσει, βαρβαρικά καὶ φρικώδη ὀνόματα. Lucain, Dialog. Meretr. IV. — On retrouve dans Théocrite (v. 27) et dans Virgile (v. 73 et 80) l'*envoûtement* si redouté dans le moyen âge.

de ce brasier, cet hippomane doit le ramener dans la maison qu'il abandonne; ces franges, c'est Delphis qui les a perdues; ce lézard entre dans un philtre redoutable. Partout se retrouve Delphis, mais infidèle et parjure, et poursuivi par l'implacable vengeance d'une amante offensée.

Peut-être même Virgile a-t-il été plus Alexandrin que l'Alexandrin Théocrite, en sacrifiant à tous ces détails extérieurs que Lucain devait bientôt développer en hexamètres interminables : peut-être a-t-il eu tort de n'indiquer que par un trait, exquis à la vérité, mais trop rapide, ces mouvements impétueux ou désordonnés qui bouleversent l'âme de Simæthe dans cette longue attente. On dirait sa Didon ou la Phèdre de Racine réduites aux minces proportions de l'Idylle. Mais cette sécheresse dans un sujet que le génie de Virgile devait bientôt élever à la hauteur du poème épique, est si peu naturelle, que nous voudrions pouvoir nous l'expliquer. N'était-il pas encore assuré de ses forces, et craignait-il dans une lutte inégale, aux prises avec une langue poétique qui se formait, d'être écrasé par l'inimitable *Élégie* de Théocrite? ou plutôt, vaincu par les prières de son cher Pollion, n'est-il pas descendu sur le *terrain* de Catulle, pour effacer sa *Magicienne*, comme plus tard il effaça l'Ariane de ce rude républicain, dont les plaisanteries n'avaient cessé de poursuivre César? Cette hypothèse nous semble confirmée par l'histoire de cette églogue.

L'enchantement est terminé : Thestylis a quitté la scène, et l'âme de Simæthe, passant rapidement des transports qui l'agitent au milieu de ces tristes apprêts, à ses plaintes mélancoliques, reprend depuis leur origine l'histoire de ses amours, et l'harmonie de ces vers si paisibles et si mélodieux forme un admirable contraste avec l'impétuosité qui règne dans toutes les strophes de l'enchantement. Oui, si les vents se taisent, et si la mer est silencieuse, la douleur ne se tait pas dans le fond de son âme, et c'est au milieu de cette vaste immobilité de la nature, dans le calme des nuits que Simæthe élève la voix et fait monter à Phœbé sa

plaintive élégie. Dans les habitudes du théâtre des anciens, rien de plus fréquent que ces récits confiés à une divinité propice; rien de plus naturel aussi, puisque leurs images révérees protégeaient le seuil de la maison et s'élevaient au fond du sanctuaire (1).

Mais comment analyser ce récit auquel viennent sans cesse se mêler ces plaintes, ces reproches, ces amers souvenirs, ces espérances trompées, qui changent une intrigue plus que vulgaire, en ce que l'antiquité nous a laissé de plus passionné? Voltaire lui-même, qui n'aimait peut-être Théocrite que parce qu'il détestait Fontenelle, compare cette idylle « à la belle ode de Sapho : » il va plus loin : pour faire connaître « la beauté du tableau à ceux dont le goût démêle la force de l'original dans la faiblesse même de la copie, » il en réunit quelques traits dans deux stances, dont la première rend assez heureusement les mouvements du récit de Simæthe, toute réserve faite du contresens :

Reine des nuits, dis quel fut mon amour !  
 Comme en mon sein les frissons et la flamme  
 Se succédaient, me perdaient tour à tour;  
 Quels doux transports égarèrent mon âme ;  
 Comment mes yeux cherchaient en vain le jour ;  
 Comme j'aimais et sans songer à plaire !  
 Je ne pouvais ni parler, ni me taire...  
 Reine des nuits, dis quel fut mon amour (2).

Or, si les douleurs du Simæthe nous rappellent l'ode (ou plutôt les odes) de Sapho, une froide analyse n'en détruira-t-elle pas complètement le charme? Il en est de ce récit comme des plaintes de Déjanire, du désespoir de Phèdre, des impétueux reproches d'Ariane et de Médée, ou de l'admirable épisode de Didon, où

(1) Patin, *Etudes sur les Tragiques Grecs*, t. II, pag. 382. — Comparez la parodie de ces allocutions dans les fragments de la comédie du *Soldat de Philémon*, pag. 116, Ed. Dübner.

(2) Dict. Philosoph., *Eglogue*.

Virgile a réuni toute la douleur de Sophocle, d'Euripide et de Théocrite à l'ardente passion d'Apollonius et de Catulle. D'ailleurs Simæthe, il ne faut pas l'oublier, est une pauvre Sicilienne, une femme du peuple (1), qui n'a su qu'adorer le parjure Delphis; ses regrets comme son amour ne peuvent guère passer dans notre langue; et, contraste singulier, tandis que l'aiguillon du désespoir et la soif de la vengeance font descendre Simæthe à des détails que ne peuvent justifier le soleil de l'Afrique ou la dissolution des mœurs sicilienne, l'Ariane du cynique Catulle reste dans ses paroles aussi chaste que Simæthe est emportée dans les siennes, et cependant elle aime Thésée, comme elle son Delphis, « de tout son cœur, de toute son âme, de toute sa pensée. »

... toto ex te pectore, Theseu,  
Toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente (2).

Disons rapidement que ce fut dans une fête (fête détestable et l'origine de tous ses malheurs) qu'elle vit, qu'elle aima Delphis. Pour nous, cette impétuosité de sentiments a quelque chose de singulier; mais il fallait que dans les mœurs anciennes ces *accidents* ne fussent pas rares, puisqu'ils forment la base d'une multitude de récits amoureux (3).

Χὼς ἴδον, ὡς ἱμάνην, ὥς μιν περὶ θυμὸς λάφθη  
Δειλαίας (v. 85)!

Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!  
Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue!

(1) La Porte Dutheil dans un commentaire critique sur cette idylle (1806, analysé dans les Mém. de l'Institut, Littér. Anc., 1818) appelle Simæthe une « bergère » (p. 11). Il n'est cependant pas question dans toute l'Idylle de champs, de moutons ou de bergers.

(2) Cat. Epith. 69 et 70.

(3) Voy. par ex. Héro et Léandre, v. 98. Théagène et Chariclée, l. III, ch. 2. Abrocome et Anthia, liv. I. Rhodanthe et Dosiclès I, p. 17. Gaulmin. — etc...

Depuis ce moment fatal elle est consumée d'une fièvre brûlante : couchée sur un lit de douleur, la maladie dévore sa beauté, et les enchantements et les magiciennes ne peuvent calmer ses tourments :

Ἀλλ' ἤς οὐδὲν ἐλαφρόν' ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἄνυτο φεύγων.  
D'un incurable amour remèdes impuissants !

Il est impossible d'indiquer dans notre langue la scène qui suit ce premier tableau, scène qui dut effaroucher le chaste Virgile, lorsqu'à la prière d'Asinius Polion il fit passer la première partie de cette idylle dans sa VIII<sup>e</sup> Eglogue. Dans le IV<sup>e</sup> livre de l'Enéide, Junon et Vénus peuvent exciter un orage, disperser une chasse : mais ici le merveilleux eût été ridicule, et Virgile préféra sans doute abandonner les détails qu'avait déjà repoussés le chantre de Thésée et d'Ariane.

La faute de Simæthe reçoit bientôt sa punition. Depuis douze jours son Delphis l'abandonne ; on le dit infidèle... Virgile a mieux aimé laisser glisser une lueur d'espérance sur le fond de son tableau :

Bonum sit!  
Nescio quid certe est, et Hylax in limine latrat.  
Credimus, an qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?  
Parcite ab urbe venit, jam parcite, carmina, Daphnis.

tandis que les plaintes et les fureurs de Simæthe sont également impuissantes à ramener le cœur de son amant. « Malheur à lui « s'il me résiste ; car, j'en jure les Parques, il va frapper aujourd'hui même aux portes de l'enfer. » Et sa vengeance, Simæthe la confie à Phœbé, sa divinité protectrice, et à ces astres nocturnes, qui suivent silencieusement le char de leur souveraine ; ils ont vu ses enchantements, ils prendront pitié de ses larmes et de son désespoir (1).

(1) Nous parlerons plus tard de l'imitation du Mime de Sophron. Voy. Idyl. X et XXI.

Ce serait ici le lieu de remonter à Homère et à Sophocle, et d'y chercher les tableaux dont s'est inspiré Théocrite. Les *Rhi-zotomes* de Sophocle paraissent avoir présenté le spectacle d'une Magicienne en proie aux transports de l'amour. La *Médée* et la *Phèdre* d'Euripide, la *Médée* d'Apollonius de Rhodes prèteraient à de curieux rapprochements. Catulle, Virgile, Horace transportent à Rome ces caractères effrayants, que Lucain, Apulée et les romans grecs transforment bientôt en horribles sorcières. Le Tasse s'élève à la hauteur de ses anciens maitres, et J.-B. Rousseau s'inspire heureusement de l'art moderne et de la naïveté des anciens. Mais ce serait faire une histoire littéraire de la magie, qui dépasserait aussitôt les bornes imposées à ce travail.

Τάχ' αἴριον ἴσασ' ἄμεινον.

### IDYLLES III ET XXIII.

Comme ces deux idylles ont une grande ressemblance de sujet, Reinhold a rejeté la XXIII<sup>e</sup> : il va même plus loin ; elle est indigne, dit-il, d'être réunie aux véritables idylles de Théocrite, car elle ne renferme qu'une fable traitée de la manière *la plus sèche et la plus sotte* (1). Mais ce jugement si dur, si positif, a trouvé pour son malheur de savants contradicteurs. M. Boissonade a justifié par des exemples plusieurs fautes que Reinhold croyait avoir signalées, et Wissowa, Théocrite à la main, a complètement réfuté ses singulières assertions grammaticales (2). Quant à la question de goût, je crains qu'elle ne subisse le même

(1) *Jejune atque insulse expositam*, p. 57.

(2) V. v. 7 et suiv. — Wissowa, *Theocr. Theocriteus*, pag. 27 et 28.

sort. Nous pouvons donc, sans trop nous exposer, admettre cette idylle comme l'œuvre de Théocrite.

Le παρακλησιθυρον était une espèce de complainte que les amants rebutés venaient chanter la nuit à la porte de leurs maîtresses (1), pour la supplier de s'ouvrir, et l'on comprend, sans autre développement, la nature de ces chansons. Quant à leur origine, elle remonte sans doute à l'époque où les Grecs se dépouillèrent de la rudesse de leurs temps héroïques, et l'usage qu'en firent les poètes comiques nous prouve qu'elles avaient complètement passé dans les mœurs des Ioniens. Certes, les spectateurs devaient s'égayer à la vue de ces pauvres jeunes gens, transis de froid, couchés sur le pavé, exposés à tous les caprices de Jupiter Pluvius, et laissant échapper une voix lamentable entrecoupée de longs gémissements. Quelquefois aussi l'amant est plus alerte, plus insouciant; et s'il parle de désespoir et de mort, son extérieur et ses gestes contrastent avec ses lugubres expressions. Tel est le jeune homme, telle est aussi la chanson qu'Aristophane introduit dans une de ses comédies, la plus spirituelle peut-être, mais aussi la plus indécente (2). Plaute, au contraire (il est permis de s'en étonner), ne va pas, dans une situation exactement semblable, chercher le comique dans l'obscène, et Phædromus s'écrie (3) :

Pessuli, heus, pessuli, vos saluto lubens,  
 Vos amo, vos volo, vos peto atque obsecro,  
 Gerite amanti mihi morem amœnissumi :  
 Fite causa mea Ludii barbari,  
 Subsilite, obsecro, et mittite istam foras,  
 Quæ mihi misero amanti exhibet sanguinem.  
 Hoc vide ut dormiunt pessuli pessumi,  
 Nec mea gratia commovent se ocius.  
 Respicio nihili meam vos gratiam facere.

(1) Plutarque, De l'Amour, ch. IX.

(2) Ecclez. v. 960 et suiv., Didot.

(3) Curculio, 1, 2, 60. Lemaire.

« Verroux, holà verroux, je vous salue de tout mon cœur : mes  
 « bons amis, je vous le demande, je vous en prie, je vous en con-  
 « jure, faites à mon amour cette grâce, chers petits verroux ;  
 « changez-vous pour moi en danseurs italiens ; sautez, je vous  
 « en supplie ; laissez sortir la tigresse qui fait mon malheur, qui  
 « me boit le sang. Mais voyez comme ils dorment ces détestables  
 « verroux ; j'ai beau prier, ils n'en bougent pas davantage. Ah !  
 « je ne le vois que trop ! vous méprisez mes prières. » — Ce-  
 pendant jusqu'ici le style n'est guère élégiaque, et même dans  
 Ménandre l'ironie du poète se mêle aux plaintes langoureuses de  
 l'amant :

... crudum Chærestratus unguem

Abrodens ait hæc : « An siccis dedecus obstem

« Cognatis ? An rem patriam rumore sinistro

« Limen ad obscœnum frangam, dum Chrysidis udas

« Ebrius ante fores extincta cum face canto (1). »

Après Aristophane et Ménandre, ou plutôt après tous les co-  
 miques grecs, ces complaints, alors même qu'elles se justifiaient  
 dans les mœurs de la nation, portaient nécessairement l'empreinte  
 du ridicule, et il devenait bien difficile de les faire passer dans  
 une élégie sérieuse. Aussi Théocrite, dans sa III<sup>e</sup> Idylle, s'éloi-  
 gne-t-il fort peu de la verve comique de ses prédécesseurs, et  
 son chevrier, dans ses lamentables supplications, se souvient, on  
 le voit, des amoureux de comédie. L'ironie perce partout :  
 « O charmante Amaryllis, pourquoi ne plus me regarder tendre-  
 « ment, pourquoi ne plus appeler ton petit bien-aimé dans cet  
 « antre ? Me détesterais-tu ? Ah ! sans doute, mon nez te paraît  
 « mal fait, ô Nympe ! et ma barbe négligée ! Tu veux donc que

(1) Perse, Sat. V, 162 — *udas* fores dixit, quas amatores solent un-  
 guento perfundere, et ante januam illarum noctem vigiliis et cantu tran-  
 sigere. *Vet. Scholiasta*. Hunc locum e Menandri Eunucho traxit... apud  
 Terentium personæ immutatæ sunt. *Id.* — Voyez Horace, Serm. II.  
 3, 260.



« je me pende (1)? » — Le style grandit bien quelquefois, et s'ennoblit même dans des hexamètres, auxquels Virgile imprime la couleur épique :

Nūn ἔγνω τὸν ἔρωτα· βαρὺς θεός. Ἢ ῥα λεαίνας  
Μαισδὸν ἐθήλαξε, δρυμῶ τέ μιν ἔτραψε μάτηρ,  
Ὅς με κατασμήχων καὶ ἐς ὁστίον ἄχρῃς ἰάπτει (2).

Nunc scio quid sit Amor : duris in cotibus illum  
Ismarus, aut Rhodope, aut extremi Garamantes,  
Nec nostri generis puerum, nec sanguinis, edunt (3).

Mais Théocrite a garde de se soutenir à cette hauteur. Il sait que, si la passion peut élever un moment les hommes de la condition la plus humble au niveau des héros tragiques, le naturel doit presque aussitôt reprendre le dessus, et le pauvre berger s'aperçoit qu'il menace en vain de disperser les « chapeaux de fleurs » suspendus à cette porte insensible, ou même de se précipiter dans les flots. Que dis-je ? son malheur n'est que trop certain, puisque la feuille de joubarbe qu'il frappait sur son bras n'a point rendu de son, et que la vieille Agræo lui prédisait ces refus..... Cependant son œil droit a tressailli, la nymphe va céder peut-être à ses prières : il chante, pour l'entraîner les prodiges de l'Amour : Hippomène, vainqueur d'Atalante ; Mélampe, qui ravit Péro pour son frère Bias ; Endymion, Adonis, Jasion,... mais hélas ! tous ses efforts sont inutiles. « Ma tête est en feu, et tu ne t'en inquiètes pas. Je ne chanterai plus, mais je vais me jeter à terre, et les loups me mangeront. Puisse ma mort t'être aussi douce que le miel à ton gosier (4) ! »

Comme on le voit, cette soi-disant élégie tient encore plus de la comédie que de la tragédie, et la complainte de l'amant ferait

(1) V. 6 et suiv.

(2) V. 15 et suiv.

(3) Virg. Eclog. VIII, 43.

(4) V. 52 et suiv.

plutôt rire que pleurer. Mais ce sujet ne pouvait-il pas, malgré la parodie, se présenter sous son côté tragique ? Le poète n'était-il pas libre de faire passer le pauvre amant par tous les transports du désespoir, et de le faire expirer sur le seuil de sa belle insensible ? Je ne sais si ce n'est pas se complaire à une conjecture ; mais il me semble que les deux odes d'Horace, I, 25, et surtout III, 10 :

*Extremum Tanaïm si biberes, Lyce,*

marquent la transition définitive du comique au tragique, de la chanson à l'élégie. L'ode presque tout entière est élégiaque ; mais une colère, légèrement moqueuse, ne se trahit-elle pas dans ces deux derniers vers :

*Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquæ  
Cælestis patiens latus.*

Ainsi des deux situations que la complainte admet, l'une pourra tourner au burlesque :

Notre linotte et notre merle aussi,  
T'ont tant de fois ouï chanter ici  
Qu'ils l'ont appris ; vu ce joli ramage  
On te devrait enfermer en leur cage :  
Les perroquets ne donnent le plaisir  
Qu'anraient de toi les passants de loisir (1).

l'autre sera triste et lugubre et pourra même conduire jusqu'au suicide :

... qu'est-ce que je maudis ?  
Pardonne-moi, porte, je m'en dédis ;  
Je n'en puis mais, si je t'ai dit outrage :  
Ce n'est pas moi, c'est l'amoureuse rage  
Qui contraint l'homme insensé, furieux,  
De blasphémer la puissance des dieux (2).

(1) Jean Passerat, Réponse de la porte à l'amant.

(2) Id., Elégie d'un amant parlant à une porte.

Mais cette dernière situation, il faut en convenir, est peu propre à l'élegie. On peut, il est vrai, se représenter un amant, suppliant cette porte qui reste obstinément fermée, et s'exaltant jusqu'aux malédictions ; mais ces malédictions doivent être vives, courtes, sous peine de languir, de paraître même fastidieuses dans une suite de longs vers.

Ce défaut, nous aurons occasion de le signaler, mais non dans Théocrite, dont le goût exquis se trompe rarement dans la mise en scène de ses petits drames. Il l'évite donc, mais à la condition de fausser le vrai but de la *complainte*. Ce n'est plus, en effet, à la porte que s'adresse l'amant, mais c'est à celui qui peut l'entendre, et sous ce point de vue l'Idylle XXIII<sup>e</sup> offre un rapport frappant avec le *Polyphème* et surtout avec l'*Alexis* de Virgile. L'agréable imitation que La Fontaine en a donnée (1), et qu'il a dédiée à M<sup>me</sup> de la Mésangère, (la *marquise* de Fontenelle et fille de sa chère protectrice, M<sup>me</sup> de la Sablière), l'a fait passer dans notre littérature ; mais le nom de M<sup>me</sup> de la Mésangère nécessitait une altération dans la nature et les rapports des personnages *grecs*. Alcimadure, comme l'(Alexis?) de Théocrite est un

Fier et farouche objet, toujours courant aux bois,  
Toujours sautant aux prés, dansant sur la verdure,  
Et ne connaissant autres lois  
Que son caprice ; au reste, égalant les plus belles,  
Et surpassant les plus cruelles.

Mais que notre admirable fabuliste est loin de l'énergie épique de Théocrite : on voit que les bocages et les prairies le séduisent toujours vivement, tandis que le poète grec ne songe qu'à peindre ce cruel objet de l'amour de (Daphnis?) : « Semblable à la bête farouche dont le regard oblique suit le chasseur, le cruel n'épar-  
« gnait rien pour tourmenter son amant. Ses lèvres étaient mo-

(1) Fables, liv. XII, 26.

« queuses; ses yeux lançaient le courroux (1).... » — Enfin, dans Théocrite comme dans La Fontaine, le malheureux Daphnis vient tomber à la porte de l'inhumaine : « il pleure, il baise le seuil » et s'écrie.... Ces deux discours sont assez différents : dans celui de Théocrite on retrouve parfois l'énergie de la Magicienne, mêlée à la candeur du Cyclope ; mais au moment suprême, c'est une passion désespérée qui s'exhale dans ces vers : « Terrible et  
 « cruel enfant, toi que nourrit une sauvage lionne, cœur de pierre,  
 « indigne de mon amour, écoute : je suis venu t'apporter ce der-  
 « nier présent, le lacet qui doit finir mes jours : car je ne veux plus,  
 « enfant, irriter ta colère, mais je descends aux lieux où tu m'or-  
 « donnes de me rendre (2)... » On pourrait cependant reprendre plusieurs traces de mauvais goût dans ce discours presque partout admirable, et l'on dirait que Théocrite a voulu payer quelque part un tribut à l'école dont il relevait (3). Les résolutions du Daphnis de La Fontaine ne sont pas exprimées en termes si tragiques, et le *chantre des bêtes* s'y montre par plus d'un trait :

Mon père, après ma mort, et je l'en ai chargé,  
 Doit mettre à vos pieds l'héritage  
 Que votre cœur a négligé.  
 Je veux que l'on y soigne aussi le pâturage,  
 Tous mes troupeaux, avec mon chien.

Dans ce dernier hémistiche surtout, qui ne retrouve tout son La Fontaine?

Il serait trop long de chercher à saisir les différences qui distinguent ces deux idylles, et ce qui précède me semble établir nettement que La Fontaine n'a jamais songé à une traduction ; peut-

(1) Idylle XXIII, 10.

(2) Ib. 19 et suiv.

(3) V. 28 et suiv. Ces descriptions *énumératives* me paraissent annoncer toujours la décadence. Elles abondent dans Stace et dans Claudien, et l'on voit que Virgile les emprunte aux Alexandrins.

être même ne s'est-il mis sous le nom de Théocrite que pour s'adresser plus sûrement à M<sup>me</sup> de la Sablière, qui venait d'abandonner subitement le monde et ses plaisirs, pour se jeter dans la dévotion (1).

Si les épigrammes de l'Anthologie qui portent le nom d'Asclépiade (2) sont du poète de Samos et du maître de Théocrite, il est probable que le disciple s'inspira de ces petits chefs-d'œuvre de passion et de naturel. Mais pour Ovide, il ne songe qu'à faire de l'esprit sur un sujet qui ne l'admet guère : tout lui agréa, pourvu qu'il puisse déployer, comme dans son Cyclope, les richesses de sa versification : ainsi que l'esclave ne fasse qu'entr'ouvrir la porte, il pourra bien passer, car :

Longus amor tales corpus tenuavit in usus  
Aptaque subducto pondere membra dedit (3).

et Passerat, dont le génie brillant n'était pas sans quelque rapport avec celui du poète de Sulmone, n'a pas laissé échapper ce trait :

Si tu ne veux, atteinte de pitié,  
T'ouvrir du tout, ouvre-toi à moitié,  
*Ou deux fois moins* : je trouverai passage,  
Amour m'a fait si maigre à cet usage,  
Je ne crains point d'être vu ni surpris.

Soixante-quatorze vers adressés à la porte ou au portier, nous semblent un peu longs, surtout avec ce refrain qui vient sans cesse couper les plaintes de l'amant :

Tempora noctis eunt ; excute poste seram.

(1) Walckenaër, Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de La Fontaine, p. 192. — Du reste, le sujet de ces deux idylles paraît être emprunté à la Calycé de Stésichore : les rôles seulement sont changés : c'est la jeune fille qui, ne pouvant fléchir celui qu'elle aime, se précipite d'un rocher. Voy. Athénée, XIV, 11, Tauchnitz.

(2) Anthol. Palat. V, 64, 167, 189, Tauchn.

(3) Ovid. Amores, I, 6, 5.

et malgré ces jolis vers inspirés sans doute par la Muse de Virgile :

Fallimur? an verso sonuerunt cardine postes?  
 Raucaque concussæ signa dedere fores?  
 Fallimur... impulsa est animoso janua vento,  
 Hei mihi! quam longe spem tulit aura meam (1).

gâtés immédiatement par une invocation à Borée, au nom de sa belle Orithye (2). — Ovide cependant connaissait l'Idylle de Théocrite, puisqu'il l'imité dans les *Métamorphoses*, où la mort des deux amants offre surtout une ressemblance frappante (3); mais que dire de ce trait qui termine le récit du châtiment d'Iphis :

... paulatimque occupat artus,  
 Quod fuit in duro jam pridem pectore, saxum!

Tibulle est plus hardi qu'Ovide : c'est à la porte elle-même et non plus au *janitor* qu'il s'adresse : il la prie de s'ouvrir discrètement pour lui; mais Délie, dès les premiers vers, remplace cette porte insensible, et c'est elle que Tibulle invoque, c'est elle qu'il supplie de faire cesser enfin ses tourments :

Non labor hic lædit, reseret modo Delia postes  
 Et vocet ad digitum me taciturna sonum (4).

Remarquons en passant que Tibulle ne paraît pas avoir connu

(1) Ib. v. 51.

(2) Quelque brillant que soit le génie de certains poètes, ils se pillent cependant : c'est ainsi que Musée a mis cette invocation dans la bouche de Léandre, au milieu de la tempête, v. 322, Didot.

(3) Métam. XIV, v. 717. — Ce serait encore un excellent argument à faire valoir en faveur de l'authenticité de cette idylle, qui ne se trouve cependant citée par aucun grammairien. Voy. p. 35.

(4) Eleg. I, 2, 53.

'Idylle de Théocrite, mais qu'il imite les petites épigrammes de l'Anthologie :

Enfin Properce ne voit plus que la porte, ne s'adresse plus qu'à ses deux battants; il va même jusqu'à lui prêter une voix :

Quæ fueram magnis olim patefacta triumphis

Nunc ego, nocturnis pоторum saucia rixis,  
Pulsata indignis sæpe queror manibus (1).

et la porte répète toutes les injures auxquelles elle est depuis si longtemps exposée. Quelle singulière invention! inspirée peut-être par le *Olim truncus eram ficulnus*. Certes, quelle que soit la grâce et l'élégance de cette élégie, bien supérieure à celle d'Ovide, elle aurait fort bien pu divertir Athènes sur le théâtre d'Aristophane, grâce à cette imagination : changeons seulement quelques mots çà et là, et chargeons notre vieux Passerat de ce soin :

Toujours sur toi vienne souffler la bise,  
Tombe la grêle et la foudre se brise!  
Autre peinture on ne lise en tes ais,  
Que des gibets et cornus marmousets;  
Les chiens . . . . .  
Toujours sois-tu sujette à toute injure!

(1) Properce, I, 16, 1.

**Les deux feuilles suivantes, qui comprennent Id. V—XI et Id. XXI, paraîtront avant la fin du mois, mais sans faire partie de la thèse.**



## **APPENDICE.**



## IDYLLE I, v. 1.

Ἄδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἃ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,  
Ἄ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσσεται ἄδύ δὲ καὶ τὸ  
Συρίσδες : .....

Il est peu de passage qui aient plus exercé la sagacité des commentateurs. En effet, les deux nominatifs ψιθύρισμα, πίτυς ne s'expliquent pas facilement, et l'article τὸ joint au pronom indéfini τί vient augmenter l'obscurité. Traduire ce vers, comme on le fait communément, par *jucundum quid est lenis susurrus pinus illius quæ.....* et expliquer cette singulière construction par l'hendiadys, n'avance guère la question; car l'hendiadys ne justifie un sens qu'autant qu'elle se justifie elle-même, comme dans (Georg. II, 192) *pateris libamus et auro*; mais je ne lui reconnais pas la puissance de faire passer à l'état de sujet ce qui est nécessairement régime. Rien de plus simple que *pateris et auro* pour *pateris auratis*, mais rien de plus obscur que *sibilus et pinus* pour *sibilus pini*.

Quant au τὶ τὸ, les commentateurs citent pour le justifier trois exemples de Théocrite qui ne m'e paraissent pas concluants. En effet, celui de l'Idylle XXIII, 35 :

Ἀλλὰ τὸ, παῖ, καὶ τοῦτο πανύστατον ἄδύ τι ῥέζον

s'explique, si je ne me trompe, d'une manière plus simple; en construisant ἄδύ τι, διὰ μέσου, comme le disent les grammairiens grecs : « pour me faire au moins une faveur. » Il en est de même, Id. XX, 21, et quant à l'Id. VIII, 82, il me semble que le sens est complètement différent. — Ainsi les explications ne sont pas convaincantes, et jusqu'à présent aucune des corrections

proposées n'a passé dans le texte. Le champ est donc toujours ouvert aux conjectures.

Quant à moi, je lirais :

Ἄδει τοι ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς.....

et je vais essayer de justifier cette correction.

Ἄδειν se dit très-bien en parlant des pins, comme le prouve ce vers de Moschus (V. 8) :

ἔνθα καί, ἦν πνεύση πολὺς ὄνεμος, ἁ πίτυς ἄδει·

et dans ce cas ψιθύρισμα, c'est-à-dire μέλισμα, λάλημα, devient le régime de ἄδει, et rien n'est plus fréquent en grec que le rapprochement du substantif et du verbe lorsqu'ils expriment des idées parfaitement semblables. — Il est vrai que Terentianus Maurus traduit ainsi ces deux vers :

Dulce tibi pinus submurmurat, en tibi, pastor  
Proxima fonticulis, et tu quoque dulcia pangis.

et que Suidas, qui cite si rarement Théocrite, confirme cette leçon (qu'il emprunte au Schol. d'Aristophane, Nuées, 1007. Coll. Didot.) — Mais si l'on réfléchit à la distance qui sépare Terentianus de Théocrite, à l'altération que devaient toujours subir les premiers mots d'un manuscrit, à la prononciation presque semblable de ἁδύ et de ἄδει, enfin à la facilité de l'antithèse, on reconnaîtra, je pense, que ἁδύ a pu fort bien se substituer à ἄδει, et ce qui le prouve mieux encore, ce sont quelques passages où je ne puis voir qu'une imitation évidente du vers de Théocrite.

C'est d'abord (si la leçon est véritable, voy. Boiss. ad l. l.), ce vers trochaïque d'A. Septimius Serenus :

..... suave sibilum

Tale, quale vere dulce sibilat teres donax,

ce qui n'est pas impossible, puisqu'ailleurs il avait dit :

Pinea brachia quum trepidant,  
Audio canticulum Zephiri.

(Voy. Wernsdorf, Poëtæ Lat. Min. I, p. 2, p. 634, 42, 6. Ed. Lemaire). — Apulée a rendu la même idée dans cette phrase toute poétique (Asin. XI, p. 665. Ed. Bas. 1597) : Et steriles (arbores) austrinis laxatæ flatibus..... clementi motu brachiorum *dulces strepitus obsibilant* ; et cette image, Ausone la délaya plus tard en quatre vers (Epist. XXV, 13 seq.). On pourrait enfin rapprocher ces deux passages de Calpurnius, qui n'ont été, je crois, cités par personne (Egl. V, 45.) :

Irrita septena *modularet sibila canna*.

et (Egl. VIII, 72.) :

Silvestris nunc *te platanus*, Melibæe *susurrat*,  
*Te pinus*....

Tοι remplaçant τί me paraît assez bien justifié par le τibi de Terentianus : et d'ailleurs dans les manuscrits, il n'y a pas de mots qui s'échangent plus facilement. Ainsi, le manuscrit de notre Bibliothèque donne (Théocrite, Id. V. 31.) : Οὐ γάρ τ' πυρὶ θάλλεται, tandis que les éditions portent τοί.

## IDYLLE I, v. 57.

Τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ παρ' ὅμιλ' Καλυδωνίῳ αἴγα τ' ἔδωκα.

Je me demande ce que vient faire ici ce batelier de Calydon, et dans quel but Théocrite l'a choisi de préférence à tous les autres. Les éditeurs modernes se taisent à ce sujet, quoique quel-

ques Scholiastes eussent déjà trouvé la chose assez obscure : « Γράφουσι δέ τινες καὶ Καλυδνίῳ, ἀγνοοῦντες ὡς Καλύδναι ἐγγὺς τῆς Κῶ εἰσίν. » Or, pour moi, je serais fort disposé à me ranger à l'avis de ces *quelques-uns*, et à lire avec eux :

Τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ πορθμῆϊ Καλυδνίῳ αἶγα τ' ἴδωκα.

En effet, après avoir prouvé dans la *Vie de Théocrite* que l'île de Cos dut exercer une grande influence sur sa jeunesse, je ne verrais rien d'étonnant à ce qu'il eût voulu consacrer le souvenir du batelier qui, plus d'une fois sans doute, le conduisit à Kalydna. (Voy. sur cette île et celles qui l'entouraient, Strabon, liv. IX, dernier paragr.). Peut-être faudrait-il lire Καλυμνίῳ. — πορθμῆα se trouve Id. XVII, 49, et βασιλῆϊ id. v. 105. Enfin un des meilleurs manuscrits de Théocrite, K, donne πορθμῆ. — Le souvenir d'un fameux batelier qui passait les voyageurs sur l'Evenus près de Calydon, le Centaure Nessus, a fait sans doute disparaître du texte cette ancienne leçon, et le passage suivant de Strabon mérite d'être rapproché du vers de Théocrite : Καὶ ὁ Νέσσος ἐνταῦθα λέγεται, πορθμὲς ἀποδεδειγμένος, ὃφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπειδὴ..... (Strab. X, 2, pag. 330 Tauchn.).

## IDYLLE I, v. 95 et 96.

Ἦνθι γε μὰν ἀδείῃα καὶ ἁ Κύπρις γελάοισα,  
λάθρια μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα,  
Κῆπε.....

Ces deux vers, et surtout le dernier, paraissent avoir arrêté presque tous les commentateurs, qui ne savent comment les concilier ; car βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα ne permet guère d'interpréter λάθρια μὲν γελάοισα d'une manière plausible : et ce qui

le prouve, c'est la note de M. Wüstemann, qui, rédigée de concert avec MM. Jacobs et Rost, ne peut substituer un sens raisonnable à ceux qu'elle réfute parfaitement bien. — Je crois cependant qu'Horace, dans un passage absolument semblable à celui qui nous occupe, nous met sur la voie d'une correction assez probable (III, Od. XXVII, 66 seq.) :

..... aderat querenti  
Perfidum ridens Venus, et remisso  
Filius arcu :  
Mox ubi lusit satis : « Abstineto.....

Pour moi, l'analogie est frappante, et je crois pouvoir corriger :

Λάθρια μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ υἱὸν ἔχοισα.

« La douce Vénus vint aussi vers Daphnis : le sourire, mais « un sourire perfide, était sur ses lèvres, et dans ses bras elle « portait son fils, le cruel Amour. » — Il me semble que la plus grande difficulté, c'est-à-dire l'accord impossible des idées, disparaît ainsi ; car je ne puis admettre avec M. Wüstemann, que la position de l'adjectif ἀδεῖα lui donne un sens particulier, puisqu'on lit dans le XVII<sup>e</sup> fragment de Bion :

Ἄμερε Κυπρογένεια,.....  
Τίπτε τόσοι θνατοῖσι καὶ ἀθανατοῖσι χαλέπτεις ;

et Fénélon, qui pénètre si profondément les plus exquises pensées des poètes grecs, me semble avoir reproduit ce tableau, lorsqu'il fait dire à Télémaque (Liv. IV) : « En même temps, j'aper-  
« çus l'enfant Cupidon, dont les petites ailes s'agitant le faisoient  
« voler autour de sa mère. Quoiqu'il eût sur son visage la ten-  
« dresse, les grâces et l'enjouement de l'enfance, il avoit je ne  
« sais quoi dans ses yeux perçans qui me faisoit peur. Il rioit  
« en me regardant ; son ris était malin, moqueur et cruel. » —  
De même Vénus : quel que soit son courroux, elle est toujours gracieuse (ἀδεῖα) ; mais, comme l'Amour de Fénélon, son sourire peut faire peur : (témoin la *Vénus d'Ille*). Je pourrais peut-

être m'appuyer sur la glose βασιτάζουσα du manuscrit P, et surtout sur cet Amour qui me semble sans cesse présent dans les reproches de Vénus et les réponses de Daphnis : « τὸν Ἔρωτα » « Ἐρωτος ὑπ' ἀργαλῆω » « κακὸν ἔσσεται ἄλγος Ἐρωτι » : mais il me suffira de rapprocher de ce vers deux vers d'Homère :

Παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσ' ἀταλάφρονα (Il. VI, 400.)

et

..... ἀθηρηλοιγὸν ἔχειν ἀνὰ φαίδιμῳ ὦμῳ (Od. XXIII, 275.)

Quant à l'hiatus, il se justifie par le digamma éolique, comme dans Théocrite, XXIV, 22 :

..... φάος δ' ἀνὰ οἶκον ἐτύχθη.

et dans Moschus, IV, 16 :

Μαινόμενος κατὰ οἶκον.

(Voy. Wüstem. Præf. ad Theocr. pag. XLII, et Hermann, Epit. Doctr. Metr. p. 29 suiv.) : et si le digamma de υῖός (*filius*) était contesté, la position d'ἀνά, terminant la seconde dipodie du vers bucolique, permettrait encore l'hiatus, comme dans l'Id. XXIII, v. 48 :

..... ἀπηνεία εἶχεν ἱταῖρον.

(Voy. Hermann, Orphica, pag. 725, et Jacobs, Id. VIII, 14.) — Enfin, il ne serait pas impossible qu'un copiste malhabile eût confondu les deux sigles qui servaient à désigner θυμόν, υἷόν.

## IDYLLE II, v. 35 et 36.

Θέιστυλι, ταὶ κύνες ἄμμιν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται.

Ἄ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι τὸ χαλκίον ὡς τάχος ἄχει.

On a toujours entendu τὸ χαλκίον ὡς τ. ἄχ. de cymbales d'airain que la magicienne dit à Thestylis de faire retentir le plus bruyamment possible. Examinons ce sens.



Et d'abord, remarquons que τὸ χαλκίον signifie *tout instrument d'airain*, et que par conséquent les *cymbales* ne sont en aucune manière indiquées par le poète. On s'en servait, à ce qu'il paraît, dans les éclipses de lune (et dans les cérémonies magiques ? Voy. Schol. ad h. l.), pour ranimer l'attention de Diane (d'Hécate ?). Or, ce n'est point ici le cas, puisque la déesse descend déjà dans le carrefour :

Ἄ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι.....

Remarquons en second lieu, que le rapprochement dans un même vers de ces deux faits : Ἄ θεὸς..... τὸ χαλκίον..... indique évidemment une corrélation dont je ne puis me rendre compte avec l'explication des commentateurs.

On peut donc, à mon avis, chercher un autre sens à ce passage ; voici le mien : χαλκίον, qui signifie *tout instrument d'airain*, désigne ici le *rhombus* dont Théocrite a déjà parlé (ῥόμβος ὁ χαλκεός, v. 30.), et cette épithète (χαλκεός) confirme, il me semble, mon interprétation. D'ailleurs le *rhombus*, ou rouet magique, devait retentir pendant toute la cérémonie de l'enchantement, et l'on attribuait à ce bruit rauque le pouvoir de faire descendre la lune du ciel :

..... Thessalico lunam deducere rhombo.

(Martial, IX, 30, 9 ; et, X, 57, 17.)

Or, si l'on veut trouver cette corrélation dont je parlais, nous écrirons :

Ἄ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι, τὸ χαλκίον ὡς τάχος ἀχεῖ.

« Hécate elle-même descend dans le carrefour, le bruit du rouet redouble. »

Ainsi ἤχεῖν reste verbe intransitif avec son véritable sens, ce qui n'est pas sans importance, puisqu'il est assez rare dans le sens transitif (Voy. Soph. Trachin. 871.) : ὡς τάχος s'applique parfaitement à la rapidité du rouet ; enfin nous substi-

tuons le rhombus aux cymbales, beaucoup trop bruyantes pour une cérémonie mystérieuse (Simætha n'ose pas même élever la voix, v. 11), et qui se passe si près d'une ville (de Syracuse ? Voyez la *Vie de Théocrite*), que la magicienne entend les hurlements des chiens épouvantés par l'approche de la déesse (vv. 35 et 12).

## IDYLLE II, v. 145.

..... ἀλλ' ἦνθί μοι ἅ τε Φιλίστας  
Ματὴρ τᾶς γε Ἀμᾶς αὐλητρίδος, ἅ τε Μελιζοῦς.

Aug. Lobeck (*Paralipomena Gramm. Gr. I*, p. 228 not.) n'hésite pas à trouver ce passage absurde (*ineptum est*), et il ajoute : « quis enim credat Simætham, quæ pompam spectatura vestem mutuam sumsit, tibicina usam esse serva ? Paulo post, v. 154, eadem ἁ ξείνα vocatur ; ergo corrigere libet τᾶς Σα-  
« μίας. » — L'argument n'est pas sans réplique ; car, s'il était vrai, comment se ferait-il que Simætha fût obligée d'emprunter la robe de son amie, et que néanmoins elle eût une esclave, Thestylis ? De plus il tombe à faux, car plusieurs passages prouvent que les personnes d'une condition peu relevée ne craignaient pas d'emprunter ou de louer des vêtements d'apparat. Ainsi Juvénal (VI, 352.) :

Ut spectet ludos conducit Ogulnia vestem.

Quant à ξείνα (v. 154), c'est un terme d'amitié comme dans ce vers de Moschus (I, 5) :

..... τὶ δ', ὦ ξένη, καὶ πλέον ἔχεις.

Mais, tout en rejetant la correction de Lobeck, il faut convenir que le sens pourrait être plus clair. Il le deviendrait, je crois,

si l'on retranchait γ' qui ne se trouve pas dans vingt-deux manuscrits, et si l'on ponctuait ainsi :

..... ἄτε Φιλίστας  
Μάτηρ τᾶς ἀμᾶς, ἀλλητριίδος ἄτε Μελιξοῦς.

En séparant ἀμᾶς de ἀλλητριίδος, ἀμός prend le sens d'*ami*, qu'il a quelquefois en grec et en français (Non, non, *mon* Du Perrier; aussitôt que la Parque....), et plus souvent encore en latin, et il devient parfaitement inutile de s'inquiéter désormais de cette joueuse de flûte; car ces noms propres placés dans le discours, ainsi que le remarque Fr. Jacobs, servent simplement au poète à donner plus d'illusion à la scène qu'il met sous nos yeux. — Voyez sur le sens de ξένος, Boisson. Théocr. Id. XXII, v. 54.

### IDYLLE III, v. 4.

Τίτυρ', ἐμὶν τὸ καλὸν πεφιλαμίνε, βόσκει τὰς αἴγας,  
Καὶ ποτὶ τὰν κρᾶναν ἄγει. Τίτυρε καὶ τὸν ἐνόρχαν....

Telle est la leçon suivie par MM. Boissonade et Wüstemann; mais quelque défiance que l'on ait de son opinion personnelle, je crois qu'il est impossible d'adopter cette correction. En effet, Virgile imitant ce passage (Egl. IX, 23) ponctuait différemment, lorsqu'il disait :

Tityre, dum redeo, brevis est via, pasce capellas,  
Et potum pastas age, Tityre; et inter agendum.....

Car il me semble que Virgile coupe ordinairement son vers dans la *thesis* pour sauver l'hiatus et resserrer les deux parties de l'hexamètre. Cette coupe lui permet même d'éviter l'élision :

Addam cerea pruna : honos erit huic quoque pomo.  
(Egl. II, v. 53.)  
Et vera incessu patuit dea. Ille ubi matrem.  
(Enéid. I, v. 405.)

et d'ailleurs cette coupe du sens et du vers à la fin du troisième pied serait très-rare dans Virgile. Je crois donc qu'il faut rétablir dans le texte de Théocrite :

Καὶ ποτὶ τὰν χρόαν, ἄγε, Τίτυρε· καὶ.....

N'y a-t-il pas d'ailleurs dans ce nom de Τίτυρε, commençant et finissant la période, quelque chose de rapide et d'élégant qui disparaît dans la nouvelle leçon ?

### IDYLLE III, v. 9.

Ἢ ῥά γέ τοι σιμὸς καταφαίνομαι ἰγγύθεν ἡμεις,  
Νύμφα καὶ προγένειος ;....

Quelques commentateurs (M. Wüstemann entr'autres) expliquent προγένειος, *cui mentum prominet* (Voy. H. Steph. Thes. s. v.), tandis que Virgile le traduit dans un passage parfaitement semblable à celui qui nous occupe (Egl. VIII, 34.) :

Hirsutumque supercilium, *promissaque barba*.

Il est possible que l'erreur vienne du scholiaste, ἡγουν προμήκης τὴν γενειάδα, mais il est possible aussi que dans le scholiaste γενειάς ait son sens ordinaire de *barbe*. Ce qui me le ferait croire, c'est que le berger se plaint évidemment de ce que sa maîtresse le compare à un bouc (Cf. Jacobs, n. ad h. l.)

## IDYLLE IV, v. 10 et 11.

KOP. Κῶχεν' ἔχων σκαπάναν τε καὶ εἵκατι τουτόθι μᾶλα.

BAT. Πείσαι τοι Μίλων καὶ τῶς λύκος αὐτίκα λυσσῆν.

Quoique le vers de Battus ait subi une multitude de corrections, aucune d'elles n'a pris place dans le texte : je ne crois pas que la mienne soit plus heureuse ; cependant elle porte, si je ne me trompe, sur la véritable difficulté.

De l'aveu de tous, ce vers, tel que le donnent les manuscrits, ne signifie rien. D'après le reste de l'idylle, Corydon est une âme simple, sans malice, tandis que Battus se moque de toutes les réponses de son naïf camarade. — *Battus* : Et le maître du troupeau, depuis quand ne le voit-on plus au pays ? — *Corydon* : Tu ne le sais donc pas ? C'est Milon qui l'emmène vers l'Alphée. — *B.* Bah ! ce grand athlète connaît donc la couleur de l'huile ? — *C.* Eh mais, on dit que sa vigueur égale celle d'Hercule. — *B.* Ma mère aussi me disait que je surpasserais Pollux. — *C.* Il est donc parti, sa bêche sur l'épaule, avec vingt bêtes de ce troupeau. — *B.* Milon persuaderait aux loups de devenir enragés. — Comme on le voit, ce dernier vers ne s'accorde en rien avec ceux qui précèdent. Pour moi, je crois que l'ironie de Battus porte sur ces vingt bêtes, ou plutôt sur vingt bœufs nécessaires à la subsistance des deux athlètes (on connaît la voracité de Milon : celle d'Ægon devait l'égaliser. Voy. v. 34.), et je lis :

Πίσσ᾽ τοι Μίλων καὶ τῶς λύκος αὐτίκα λυσσῆν.

« Milon aura donc à Pise la faim enragée d'un loup. » L'ironie est digne de Battus ; il reste à la justifier.

Je crois d'abord que μᾶλα (v. 10) a le sens général de *tête de bétail*, et par suite de *bœuf*, parce que le troupeau d'Ægon est

un troupeau de bœufs (ὁ βωκόλος, τίνος αἱ βόες;), et que Corydon le montre évidemment à Battus (τουτόθι). Le scholiaste est parfaitement de mon avis, et il justifie cette explication par un exemple d'Homère (Iliad. XVIII, 550). Ἀντίχα se joint au présent ou au futur pour indiquer une chose qui doit immédiatement arriver, et Théocrite paraît même affectionner cette expression (voyez par exemple Id. II, 29; IV, 47; V, 96, 121): Homère construit de même ἄφαρ, synonyme d'ἀντίχα, avec le présent (Iliad. XXII, 270: ἄφαρ... δαμάξ, Minerve va te faire tomber sous mes coups). — Dans les anciens manuscrits, le verbe πείσαι devait se confondre avec Πείσαι ou Πίται, dat. de Πείσα ou Πίτα: car l'orthographe de ce nom est douteuse, et les meilleurs manuscrits sont loin d'être d'accord (1). — Τὼς λύκος n'est pas à l'accus. plur., mais au nomin. sing., car τὼς est ici dans le sens de ὢς. Grégoire de Corinthe, pag. 112, le témoigne formellement: Δωριεῖς τὸ ὢς τὼς λέγουσιν, ὥς παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Ἀχαρνέσιν [v. 763, ὅκκ' ἐσθ'άλητε, τὼς ἀρωαῖοι μύες, lorsque vous vous jetez sur nos champs, comme une troupe de mulots]. — Λυσσῆν a remplacé λύσση, parce que dans les manuscrits le ν vient perpétuellement se substituer à l'ι souscrit, et pour ne pas sortir de Théocrite, on trouve en parcourant les variantes recueillies par Gaisford: Q. χιμάρων pour χιμάρω, ἐφ' ᾧ pour ἐφ' ᾧ, τὰν χθονίαν Ἐχάταν pour τᾷ χθονίᾳ Ἐχάτα, etc. Voy. Mühlmann, Leg. Dial. Bucol. p. 16. — Ainsi la correction que je propose ne change pas en définitive une seule lettre: elle remonte simplement à l'écriture primitive des manuscrits, et le sens qu'elle donne me semble rentrer assez bien dans le ton général de l'Idylle.

(1) Ainsi le Cod. Mediceus et le C. Ravennas donnent Πείσαν, le premier dans Hérod. II, 7, et le second dans Aristophane, Grenouilles, 1232: or ces deux manuscrits font autorité.

## IDYLLE V, v. 25, SEQ.

ΛΑΚ. Καὶ πῶς ὦ κινὰθεῦ τάδε γ' ἴσσεται ἐξ ἴσου ἄμμιν ;

ΚΟΜ. .... ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τοι

Ὠρίφος ἰσοπαλῆς, τυίδ' ὁ τράγος οὗτος, ἔρισδε.

M. Wüstemann ne me paraît point avoir entendu ce passage, ou du moins l'explication qu'il en donne est si singulière, qu'il m'est impossible de l'admettre. Je crois le sens beaucoup plus simple.

Comatas vient d'accepter le défi de Lacon : son enjeu est un *chevreau* ; mais il veut que son rival expose un *agneau* gros et gras (τὸν εὔδοτον ἀρνόν) qu'il lui montre du doigt. Grand courroux de Lacon, dont l'agneau vaut bien plus qu'un chevreau, et de là ses insultes : « Eh misérable ! où serait l'égalité ? A-t-on jamais tondu du poil pour de la laine ? qui voudrait laisser une chèvre, mère pour la première fois, et traire une chienne affamée ? — *Comatas* : Celui qui se flatte comme toi de vaincre son adversaire, guêpe qui bourdonnes autour de la cigale. Mais puisque mon chevreau ne vaut pas ton agneau, regarde-moi ce bouc et combats. » Comme on le voit, il n'y a là que quelques proverbes avec une querelle à propos des deux bêtes ; et je ne puis comprendre où M. Wüsteman trouve de si singulières allusions : « Hæc dicta videntur, respectu habito (v. 27), ubi Lacon se cum capella comparaverat, Comatam ad caninam conditionem detrudens. Verum hic, in eodem joco persistens (?), *te judice, capellæ quidem hircus non par esse videtur ? Ecce hircum, qui cum capella, id est tecum pugnet.* »

## IDYLLE V, v. 51.

Ἡ μὲν ἀνακίδας τε καὶ εἴρια τῶδε πατησεῖς,  
 Αἴχ' ἐνδης, ὕπνω μαλακώτερα.

Telle est la leçon qu'adoptent MM. Meinecke et Boissonade, et que l'on explique par le (Virg. Eglog. VII, 45.):

Somno mollior herba.

L'imitation est évidente ; mais cela signifie-t-il une herbe *plus douce que le sommeil*. J'en doute, malgré le génitif ὕπνω. N'est-ce pas plutôt : « Une herbe plus agréable par le sommeil, » c'est-à-dire « que le sommeil vous fait trouver plus agréable encore. » Cette construction peut paraître elliptique ; cependant elle n'est pas rare en grec et en latin : ὕπνω sera donc le régime de μαλακός ; celui de μαλακώτερος est sous-entendu, comme dans cette phrase (Cic. Verr. 3, 33.) : Solent reges Persarum *plures uxores habere* (Voy. Ramshorn, Latein. Gramm. p. 494, et Wüstemann, Idyl. XV, 185). D'ailleurs, ὕπνω paraît être la leçon du plus grand nombre des manuscrits (1). — Il est probable que le vers 57 :

Δέρματα, τῶν παρὰ τιν μαλακώτερα πολλάκις ἀρνῶν,

aura fait conserver ὕπνω. Mais s'il y a ressemblance de sens, la construction est évidemment différente. Valckenaër (Adoniaz.

(1) Ceux qui admettent le sens ordinaire, trouvent que la pensée est obscure et recherchée ; il leur faut même aller plus loin, et convenir que Calpurnius (Egl. VI, 74.) l'emporte en simplicité sur Théocrite et sur Virgile, qu'il exagère si souvent :

Seu residere libet, dabit ecce sedilia tophus,  
 Ponere seu cubitum, melior viret herba tapetis.

et j'avoue que j'ai peine à le croire.



pag. 406, Id. XV, v. 125.) admet aussi ὕπνω; mais la manière dont il l'explique, admissible peut-être dans les Syracusaines, est tout à fait incompatible avec nos personnages : « Milesios mercatores probabiliter, tum temporis Alexandriam imprimis confluentes, ista facit et Samios dicentes Theocritus, qui, ut lanam suarum ovium et tapetia sua commendarent, illa dicere sueverint *somno molliora*. »

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# IDYLLE, V, v. 78.

Λ. Εἶτα λέγ' εἴ τι λέγεις, καὶ τὸν ξένον ἐς πάλιν αὖθις  
Ζῶντ' ἄφες ὦ Παιάν, ἥ στωμύλος ἦσθα Κομᾶτα.

Pour expliquer ces derniers mots, les commentateurs disent que l'imparfait ἦσθα a le sens du présent, et par suite, ils traduisent à peu près ainsi : « Vraiment, quel babillard tu me fais, Comatas ? » Et Comatas ne dit rien. L'ironie est assez plaisante, et le vers précédent la justifie. Mais cet imparfait est trop singulier pour que ce sens puisse être adopté sans contrôle ; pour moi, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, je préfère lire :

..... ὦ Παιάν, ἥ στωμύλος ἦσθα, Κομᾶτα;

« Qu'est-ce à dire ? aurais-tu jamais parlé, Comatas ? » ; sens qu'autorise également le :

Εἶτα λέγ' εἴ τι λέγεις.

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## IDYLLE V, v. 110.

Α. Τοὶ τέττιγες ὀρῆτε τὸν αἰπόλον ὡς ἐρεθίσθω  
 Οὕτω κύμμες θῆν ἐρεθίσδετε τὼς καλαμευτάς.

Rien n'est plus obscur que l'explication de ces deux vers dans l'édition de M. Wüstemann. C'est d'abord : « Sic vos cicadæ « cantu vestro indefesso messorum ad opus faciendum incitatis... » puis « tales profecto homines (messorum) opus non festinant, sed « eo lentius agunt quo attentius aures cicadis commodant. »

Cependant il me semble que ce passage pourrait assez bien s'expliquer au moyen de quelques vers analogues. Virgile a dit, peut-être en imitant Théocrite (Egl. II, 10) :

At mecum raucis tua dum vestigia lustrō,  
 Sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadæ.

et au III<sup>e</sup> Liv. des Géorgiques, v. 328 :

Et cantu querulæ rumpent arbusta cicadæ.

Calpurnius (Nemesianus?) imitait-il le poète grec ou le poète latin (Egl. XI, 42) :

..... me sonat omnis  
 Silva, nec æstivis cantu concedo cicadis ?

Les moissonneurs chantent en travaillant ; mais, du milieu des haies, les cigales si nombreuses dans les pays méridionaux les poursuivent de leurs sons rauques et monotones (*raucæ cicadæ, rumpent arbusta, nec..... concedo cicadis*). Les moissonneurs s'impatientent (ἐρεθίσθω, ἐρεθίσδετε), les maudissent, mais tous leurs efforts seraient vains pour faire cesser leur chant. »

Ainsi le sens de ce passage doit se chercher dans *θήν, ἐρεθίσδω* répété, et surtout dans la comparaison moqueuse que ces trois mots renferment, plutôt que dans le chant de la cigale. C'est ainsi qu'Ovide, voulant parler d'une chose impossible, croit que (*Ars Amat.* I, 271) :

Vere prius volucres taceant, *æstate cicadas.*

Toutefois, comme les Grecs étaient de bien plus grands admirateurs du chant de la cigale que les Romains, il est possible qu'il entre un peu de vanité dans la comparaison de Lacon. (*Voy. Idyl.* I, 148.)

## IDYLLE VII, v. 60.

Ἀλκυόνες, γλαυκαῖς Νηρηΐσι ταῖτε μάλιστα  
Ὀρνίχων ἐφιλαθεῖν, ὅσαις τέ περ ἰξ ἁλὸς ἄγρα.

Le *τέ* embarrasse évidemment la construction, et quelques éditeurs ont corrigé ce passage (Brunck, *ὅσαισι*. Valckenaër, *γε*). Je crois qu'il faut lire, non pas *ὅσαις*, en le rapportant aux oiseaux, mais *ὅσοις*, en le rapportant aux pêcheurs. On sait que les quatorze jours alcyoniens (*ἀλκυονίδες ἡμέραι*. Arist. *Hist. Animal.* V. 8, 2, 3), la mer restait immobile (*λαθάνεμον ὥραν*. Simonide), et que les navigateurs n'avaient plus à craindre les tempêtes; *ἄγρα* se dit aussi d'un pêcheur dans Moschus (V. 10) :

..... καὶ ἰχθὺς ἃ πλάνος ἄγρα.

Voy. *Id.* XXI, v. 16, et Sophocle, *Ajax*, v. 861.

## IDYLLE VIII, v. 92.

Κῆκ τούτω Δάφνις παρὰ ποιμέσι πρῶτος ἔγεντο,  
Καὶ Νύμφαν ἄκρηδος ἰὼν ἔτι Ναΐδα γᾶμεν.

« Ναΐδα. Multi h. l. disputant de Naide, quæ fuerit, et quomodo ea, quæ de Naidis cum Daphnide matrimonio hic narrantur cum aliis scriptoribus, qui de Daphnide tradunt, conciliari queant. Verum omnis hæc opera frustra suscipitur. « Nullus enim consensus in his rebus postulandus apud poetæ. » Je crois que M. Wüstemann se trompe, et qu'il est possible de mettre Théocrite d'accord avec un autre auteur, l'historien Timée de Locres, que cite Parthenius dans sa 26<sup>e</sup> Narration : Τούτου (τοῦ Δάφνιδος) λέγουσιν Ἐχέναΐδα νύμφην ἐρασθεῖσαν, παρακελεύσασθαι, etc..... — Théocrite aurait donc suivi, ce qui me semble fort probable, la tradition sicilienne, et dit :

Καὶ Νύμφαν ἄκρηδος ἰὼν Ἐχέναΐδα γᾶμεν.

Les copistes ne sachant ce que c'était que cette Echenais, et d'ailleurs la tradition donnant une multitude de noms à cette nymphe (Thalia, Nomia, Piplea, Italia, etc.....), ont conservé Ναΐδα qui leur donnait un sens, et changé ἔχει en ἔτι en le rapportant à ἄκρηδος. — Dans l'Idylle VII, 73, Théocrite semble l'appeler Ξενεία; mais ce nom est évidemment corrompu. (Voy. l'étude sur la 1<sup>re</sup> idylle.)

## IDYLLE IX, v. 24.

Δάφνιδι μὲν κορύναν τάν μοι πατὴρ ἐτραφεν ἄγρός,  
 Αὐτοφυῶ, τὰν οὐδ' ἂν ἴσως μωμάσατο τέκτων.

Au premier abord ἴσως et μωμάσατο ne s'accordent guère, quoique au fond le sens soit assez raisonnable. Il serait à souhaiter que le reste de l'idylle fut aussi clair. Cependant il me semble qu'en lisant :

..... τὰν οὐδ' ἂν ἴσως μιμήσατο τέκτων,

on aurait une opposition bien plus naturelle entre cette houlette coupée dans le champ paternel, et celles que fabriquent les ouvriers de la ville : Pindare a dit de même (Pyth. XII, 20) :

Ὅφρα τὸν Εὐρυάλας ἐκ καρπαλιμῶν γενύων  
 Χριμφθέντα σὺν ἔντεσι μιμήσαιο' ἐρικλάρχταν γόον.

## IDYLLE X, v. 15.

MIA. Τίς δέ τι τῶν παίδων λυμαίνεται ;

BAT. Ἄ Πολυδῶτα.

Ce vers s'est toujours écrit ainsi, du moins à ma connaissance ; cependant les Scholies de Genève semblent indiquer une correction qui le ferait rentrer dans le système que Théocrite nous paraît avoir à peu près constamment suivi. Le Scholiaste dit en

effet : δύναται καὶ αὐτὸς ὅλον τὸν στίχον λέγειν , c'est-à-dire que le vers ainsi corrigé serait :

M. Τίς δέ τοι τῶν παίδων λυμαίνεται ; ἃ Πολυδῶτα ;

Nous avons exposé ailleurs (Scholiorum Theocriteorum Pars inedita. Turici. 1843, p. 80) les raisons qui nous font adopter cette correction ; il est donc inutile de les reprendre en détail. Disons seulement que dans ce cas, il faut renvoyer le vers : Ἄ πρᾶν.... à l'Idylle VI, 41, et couper ainsi le dialogue :

MIA. Τίς δέ τοι τῶν παίδων λυμαίνεται ; ἃ Πολυδῶτα ;

BAT. Εὖρε Θεὸς τὸν ἀλιτρὸν !

MIA. Ἐχεις πάλαι ὦν ἱπεθύμεις ·

Μάντις τοι κ. τ. λ. —

Voy. Eurip. Hippolyte, v. 354.

## IDYLLE XV, v. 145.

ΓΟΡ. Πραξινόα, τὸ χρῆμα σοφώτερον. ἃ Θήλεια  
(ὀλβία ὅσσα ἴσασι, πανολβία ὡς γλυκὺ φωνεῖ·

C'est ainsi que ces deux vers se trouvent écrits dans toutes les éditions modernes, jusqu'à celles de Boissonade et de Meinecke, qui n'ont fait que suivre la correction de Casaubon adoptées déjà par Heinsius et Valckenaër. Mais, quelle que soit le poids de ces autorités réunies, il m'est impossible de croire que Théocrite ait coupé si singulièrement le sens et le vers sur deux spondées ; car la cadence du vers bucolique est à peu près détruite si le sens est complètement suspendu, tandis que partout

où se retrouve cette coupe, le dactyle et le spondée terminent le vers, et le sens unit étroitement les deux idées qui le composent (1). Je crois donc que la leçon est fautive. Voici celle que je lui substitue.

Au vers 83, la *provinciale* Praxinoé, à peine introduite dans le palais, éclate en exclamations, et s'écrie en présence de toutes ces merveilles de l'art :

Σοφόν τι χρῆμα ὦνθρωπος !

puis elle entame l'éloge de ce bel Adonis qu'elle voit devant elle, couché sur un lit d'argent, jusqu'à ce qu'un voisin se permette d'interrompre assez brutalement son intarissable babil. La querelle s'anime ; heureusement la chanteuse prélude, et nos deux femmes ont bientôt oublié l'étranger et ses sottises critiques de leur accent péloponésien. Cependant Gorgo, qui défend l'honneur de son sexe, ne laisse pas tomber cette exclamation enthousiaste de son amie :

Σοφόν τι χρῆμα ὦνθρωπος !

et dès l'instant où la parole lui est rendue, après le chant de l'Argienne (?), elle s'écrie à son tour triomphalement :

Πραξινοά, τὸ χρῆμα σοφώτερον ἂν θήλεια !

L'opposition me semble évidente.

J'ai d'ailleurs un scrupule, peut-être fort peu fondé, sur le sens de *θήλεια* dans le vers que je combats. Je doute que dans la bonne grécité ἡ θήλεια ait signifié *la femme que tu vois*, ἡ γυνή.

(1) C'est à dire que partout où Théocrite coupe son vers au 4<sup>e</sup> pied, et suspend en même temps le sens, il lie les deux derniers pieds aux quatre premiers par une particule ; par exemple : αἱ δὲ κ' ἀρέσκη (I, 10), ἦ γὰρ ἂπ' ἄγρας (16), ἐντὶ δὲ πικρός (17), αἱ δὲ κ' αἰείσης (23), ἃ δὲ κατ' αὐτόν (30), παρ δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες (33), οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος (37), etc....

Les commentateurs ont passé rapidement sur ce passage, et Valckenaër lui-même (*tantus amor finis*) se contente d'indiquer le sens de cette expression sans la discuter. Ce témoignage est, par cela même, contraire à mon opinion; cependant il me semble que ἡ θήλεια ne peut signifier que la femelle par opposition au mâle, ou le sexe féminin. C'est ainsi que Xénophon dira (Cynég. X, 18) : ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια ᾗ ἡ ἐμπεσοῦσα..... « si c'est la laie qui tombe dans les filets du chasseur.... » et Plutarque (Quest. Rom.) : χρῶνται δὲ δυοὶ μὲν ὀνόμασιν αἱ θήλειαί, τρισὶ δὲ οἱ ἄρρενες : « les femmes ont deux noms, et les hommes trois. » — C'est ce que me ferait croire la leçon de quelques manuscrits (Vat. 3), et de l'édition Aldine, qui ont

αἱ θήλειαί  
Ὀλβίαι ὅσα ἴσαντι, πανόλβιαι ὡς γλυκύφωνοι !

Enfin, il me semble que les derniers vers de cette idylle pourraient se couper d'une manière plus vive :

ΓΟΡΓΩ.

Πραξινοά, τί χρῆμα σωφρότερον ἂν θήλεια !

ΠΡΑΞΙΝΟΑ.

Ὀλβία ὅσα ἴσατι, πανολβία ὡς γλυκὺ φωνεῖ !

ΓΟΡΓΩ.

Ὡρα ὅμως κῆς οἶκον ἀνάριστος Διοκλείδας,  
Χώνηρ ὄξος ἄπαν, πεινᾷντι δὲ μὴδὲ ποτίνθης.

ΠΡΑΞΙΝΟΑ.

Χαῖρε, Ἄδων' ἀγαπητέ, καὶ ἐς χαίροντας ἀφικνεῖ.

Ὡμως de Gorgo me paraît une restriction qu'elle met rapidement à l'enthousiasme trop prompt de sa compagne; Praxinoé se laisse entraîner, mais elle se retourne pour contempler encore une fois le bel Adonis, et lui jette ce dernier adieu : χαῖρε.... — (Voy. v. 84 et suivants.)



## IDYLLE XXI, v. 15.

Οὐδεὶς δ'οὐ χύτραν εἶχ', οὐ κῦνα πάντα περισσὰ  
 Πάντ' ἰδοῖται τήνας ἄγρας· πενία σφιν ἱταίρα.

Rien de plus corrompu que le texte de cette malheureuse idylle à partir de ce vers, et il est probable que si l'on ne retrouve pas quelque bon manuscrit, on ne pourra jamais la rendre parfaitement claire. Cependant comme l'inconnu nous attire toujours, j'ai tenté d'exécuter sur ce texte un commentaire critique, dont la base ne repose pas sur les manuscrits, qui ne valent rien, mais sur le contexte, soit de cette idylle, soit de toutes les autres : je ne m'exagère pas la valeur de ce travail, mais je veux appeler de l'attention des critiques sur des vers désespérés et faire peut-être sortir de la discussion la correction véritable.

Briggs est le seul qui ait cru οὐδεὶς corrompu : il le change en οὐδὺς et lit ainsi le vers :

Οὐδὺς δ'οὐχὶ θύραν εἶχ', οὐ κῦνα.....

Je doute en effet que Théocrite, en parlant des *deux* pécheurs, se soit servi de l'expression : οὐδεὶς δ'οὐ χύτραν εἶχ'.... Mais ôter une porte à une cabane entourée de tous les côtés par la mer (v. 18), et lui laisser un seuil, me paraît assez peu naturel ; il faut cependant que cette correction ait paru bien nécessaire à Meinecke puisqu'il renonce, en sa faveur, à la leçon des manuscrits, ce qu'il ne fait que le plus rarement possible.

Remarquons d'abord que le champ est ouvert aux conjectures, puisque de fait il n'y a pas de *leçons* de manuscrits, mais bien d'informes assemblages de mots auxquels personne n'a pu donner un sens. En examinant l'ensemble des idées dans la première

partie de l'idylle, il me paraît évident que l'énumération des richesses de nos deux pêcheurs finit sur οὔτος ὁ πλοῦτος, et que recommencer cette énumération par

Οὐδείς οὐ χύτραν εἶχ', οὐ κύνα.....

c'est fausser le sens, et c'est sans doute ce qui a fait adopter à Meinecke la correction de Briggs. Il me semble au contraire que Théocrite doit terminer ce tableau par un trait qui peigne rapidement la misère de cette cabane, et non par : « Aucun d'eux « n'avait de marmite et de chien. » C'est pourquoi je hasarde :

Οὐδὲ μοχλῶ ἃ θύρα εἶχετο, οὔνεκα πάντα περισσά  
Τᾶλλ' ἰδοῦναι τήνοις ἄγρας πενία σφιν ἰταίρα.

J'avoue le premier que rien n'est plus hasardé que l'introduction de μοχλῶ dans ce vers, parce qu'on ne retrouve pas de traces de cette leçon dans les manuscrits. Cependant Théocrite s'est servi de cette expression dans la 2<sup>e</sup> idylle (v. 127) :

Εἰ δ' ἄλλᾳ μ' ὥθειτε καὶ ἃ θύρα εἶχετο μοχλῶ.

et de plus elle me paraît assez bien justifier le sens du vers suivant, dont les mots sont également corrompus. Le jour, nos deux pêcheurs emportaient avec eux leurs instruments ; la nuit, ils les gardaient eux-mêmes, et leur pauvreté ne leur permettait pas d'en acheter qui leur eussent été moins utiles. La leçon de οὔνεκα ne s'éloigne que fort peu des variantes (οὐχ ἵνα, Call. οὐκίνα, Ald.) ; quant à celle de πάντα π. Τᾶλλα, pour πάντα π. Πάντα, elle appartient à Fr. Jacobs.

## IDYLLE XXI, v. 17.

Οὐδείς δ' ἐν μέσσω γείτων, παντᾶ δὲ παρ' αὐτάν  
 Θλιβομένην καλύβαν τρυφερὸν προσέναχε θαλάσσα.

Il me semble que les commentateurs modernes n'ont pas saisi le sens du participe *Θλιβομένην*, puisqu'ils se rangent tous à l'avis de Toup qui le traduit par *angusta*. Mais les deux exemples que ce savant cite pour confirmer cette interprétation ne me paraissent pas concluants. Dans Pollux (IX, 23) πόλις *Θλιβομένη* signifie une *ville pressée par les ennemis*, et dans Arrien ἐν καλύβαις *πνιγηραῖς* s'entend fort bien de *πνιγηρός*, mais non de *Θλιβόμενος*. Je crois qu'il faut s'en tenir aux paroles mêmes de Théocrite. Cette cabane est située sur un ilot, à quelque distance du rivage (οὐδείς ἐν μ. γ.), et chaque fois que les vagues de la mer viennent se briser sur la rive, *elles resserrent* pour ainsi dire la cabane dans un espace plus étroit (*Θλιβομένην*). — Théocrite emploie *φλίσσεται* dans un sens analogue (Id. XV, 75), et dans Eschine (contre Ctésiphon, p. 154, éd. Baiter) cette idée se trouve exprimée dans ces vers d'un oracle :

Πρὶν γε θεοῦ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης  
 Κύμα ποτικλύζη, κελαιοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ' ἄκταϊς.

Enfin on ne peut méconnaître dans la double consonnance *Θλιβομένην καλύβαν*, une harmonie imitative qui ne s'accorde guère avec le sens que suivent les commentateurs.

## IDYLLE XXI, v. 34 seq.

Ἄλλως καὶ σχολὰ ἐντι· τί γὰρ ποιῆν ἂν ἔχοι τις  
 Κείμενος ἐν φύλλοις ποτὶ κύματι, μὴδὲ καθεύδων  
 Ἄλλονος \* ἐν ῥάμῳ ; τὸ δὲ λύχνιον ἐν πρυτανείῳ.  
 Φαντὶ γὰρ \* ἄγραν τόδ' ἔχειν.

Ce passage passe pour le plus corrompu de Théocrite, et Meinecke a préféré le texte des manuscrits à toutes les conjectures, quoique ce texte ne signifie absolument rien. Voyons s'il est absolument impossible d'en faire sortir la véritable leçon.

Les vers 34 et 35 sont fort clairs : les deux pêcheurs qu'ont réveillés les soucis de la pauvreté causent en attendant le jour. « Au reste, dit Asphalion, nous avons du loisir : que faire au bord de la mer, et couchés sur notre lit de feuilles..... »

(Car, que faire en un gîte, à moins que l'on n'y songe ?)

Ici commencent les difficultés. M. Boissonade croit que le sens se termine à καθεύδων, et que le vers suivant contient deux proverbes. Cette remarque, je la crois fort juste pour ἄσμενος, mais elle me paraît douteuse pour καθεύδων.

Tous les manuscrits donnent ῥάμῳ ou ῥαῖω : les éditeurs ont fait ῥάμνῳ, avec raison, selon moi, puisque ῥάμνῳ se trouve dans le manuscrit Z (Gaisf. 11) copié par *Hector Pyrgoteles*, en 1516, sur un manuscrit plus ancien, et que cette leçon est la plus simple de toutes celles que l'on ait imaginées.

Le *Rhamnus* est une plante épineuse extrêmement commune dans le midi de l'Europe et dans l'Asie Mineure, et les naturalistes anciens le définissent toujours en prenant pour point de départ ses piquants redoutables. Ainsi le Scholiaste de Nicandre (*Theriaca*, v. 630, Ed. Morel, p. 30) : ῥαμνὸς δέ, φύτον ἀκαν-

θῶδες, — Pline (H. N. XXIV, 76), qui, sans doute, emprunte ces détails aux naturalistes grecs (Théophraste, Dioscoride) : « Is floret, ramos spargens rectis aculeis, non, ut cæteri, aduncis... » etc.... Théocrite lui-même fait dire par Corydon à Battus qui vient de se blesser au pied :

Εἰς ἔρος ἔκχ' ἔρπεις, μὴ ἀνάλιπος ἔρχιο, Βάττι·  
Ἐν γὰρ ἔρει ῥά μιν οἱ τε καὶ ἀσπάλαθοι κομόωντι.

Enfin Dioscoride range dans la même famille le *rhamnus* et le *paliurus*, et nous lisons dans Virgile (Egl. V, 39) :

Carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.

Ainsi ῥά μινος comme παλίουρος peut signifier toute ronce aux fortes épines.

Or, si nous comparons maintenant le passage qui nous occupe avec Id. XXIV, 89 :

Καῖε δὲ τῷδ' ἀγρίαισιν ἐπὶ σχίζαισι δράκοντι

et surtout avec Id. VII, 110, où Simichidas souhaite à Pan d'être couché sur des épines :

..... καὶ ἐν κνίδαισι καθεύδεις,

nous pouvons en conclure : 1° que καθεύδων, comme dans ce dernier exemple, doit se joindre à ἐν ῥά μινω; 2° qu'il s'agit ici d'une couche aussi désagréable possible.

Si nous rapprochons enfin ἄλλονος de ἰσμε ἐν ρ. que donne Z, il me semble évident que le vers a dû s'écrire :

Ὡς ὄνος ἐν ῥά μινω,.....

Ainsi le passage tout entier peut se corriger de la manière suivante :

Ἄλλως καὶ σχολά ἐντι· τί γὰρ ποιῆν ἂν ἔχοι τις  
Κείμενος ἐν φύλλοις, ποτὶ κύματι, μηδὲ καθεύδων  
Ὡς ὄνος ἐν ῥά μινω, τό τε λύχνιον ἐν πρυτανείῳ;  
(Φαντὶ γὰρ αἰὲν ἄγραν τόδ' ἔχειν.)

« Au reste nous avons du loisir ; car que pourrions-nous faire, couchés sur nos lits de feuilles, près de la mer, et ne dormant pas plus qu'un âne sur des épines ou la lampe du prytanée (car elle a, dit-on, de quoi toujours consumer)? »

Ainsi ὄνος ἐν ῥάμκῳ serait un proverbe qui aurait la même origine que notre expression *être couché sur les épines* ; quant à la seconde moitié du vers, on sait qu'un grand nombre de villes grecques avaient un prytanée dans lequel une lampe, au moins, ne cessait de brûler : or, rien n'était plus simple pour ces pêcheurs que de prendre pour emblème de l'insomnie un âne couché sur une litière d'épines, ou la lampe qui brûlait toute la nuit dans le prytanée : et le dernier vers Φαντὶ, etc.... est l'explication de cette comparaison avec un retour sur leur misère : « Elle au moins est toujours sûre de son repas. »

Remarquons, en finissant, que le vers 58 :

Καὶ τὸν μὲν πειστῆρσι κατῆγον ἐπ' ἡπίροιο,

est probablement transposé, qu'il faut le replacer après le vers 51, et lire ainsi ce passage :

Καὶ οὐ φεύγοντος ἔτινα,

Καὶ τὸν μὲν πειστῆρσι κατῆγον ἐπ' ἡπίροιο.

Ἦνυσα κ. τ. λ.

Mais

*primo avulso non deficit alter.*

Je terminerai cet appendice par deux petites pièces que le manuscrit de notre bibliothèque semble donner d'une manière plus correcte que les éditions : la première est l'*Epigramme* (de Théocrite ?) que citent les Prolégomènes grecs :

Ἄλλος ὁ Χῖος· ἐγὼ δὲ Θεόκριτος, ὃς τάδε γράψας

Εἷς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰμὶ Συρηκοσίων·

Υἱὸς Πραξαγόρας περικλειτῆς τε Φιλίνης·

Μοῦσαν δ' ὀθυίην οὔτιν' ἐφειλκυσάμην.

Le manuscrit de Genève (C. G.) donne τάδε γράφας pour τάδε γράφα ou τάδ' ἔγραφα des autres éditions. — 2. Τῶν, abest. — 3. Περικλυτῆς τε Φιλίης. C. G. — 4. Οὔτιν' pour οὔποτ' qui rend peut-être un peu plus clair le sens de ce dernier vers. (Voy. Dissertation, pag. 18).

La seconde est une ode d'Anacréon (la XVII<sup>e</sup>, 1<sup>re</sup> Ed. Boisson.): elle se trouve dans l'Anthologie et dans Aulu-Gelle, qui la cite (XIX, 9) pour l'avoir entendu chanter dans un repas. Comme le texte diffère çà et là des autres éditions, je donnerai celui de M. Boissonade avec les variantes du C. G.

## C. G.

- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Τὸν ἄργυρον τορεύων,     | τορεύσας                |
| Ἐφαιστί μοι ποιήσον,        |                         |
| Πανοπλίαν μὲν οὐχί,         | Πανοπλίας.              |
| (Τί γὰρ μάχαισι κάμοι ;)    |                         |
| 5. Ποτήριον δὲ κοῖλον,      |                         |
| Ὄσον δύνῃ, βαθύνας.         | βάθυνον.                |
| Ποίει δέ μοι κατ' αὐτοῦ     | Καὶ μὴ ποίει κατ' αὐτό  |
| Μήτ' ἄστρα, μηθ' ἄμαξαν,    | Μήτε ἄστρα, μητ' ἁμάξας |
| Μὴ στυγνὸν Ωρίωνα.          | Abest                   |
| 10. (Τί Πλειάδων μέλει μοι, |                         |
| Τί δ' ἀστέρος Βοώτῳ ;)      |                         |
| Ἄλλ' ἀμπέλους χλωύσας,      | Ποίησον ἀμπέλους μοι    |
| Καὶ βότρυας γελῶντας        | Κ. β. κατ' αὐτό         |
| Καὶ Μαινάδας τρυγώσας       | Abest                   |
| 15. Ποίει δὲ ληνὸν οἴνου,   | Abest                   |
| Καὶ χρυσέους πατοῦντας      |                         |
| Ὀμοῦ καλῶ Λυαίῳ             | καλῶς                   |
| Ἐρωτα καὶ Βάθυλλον.         | βάθυνον.                |

Cette ode se retrouve aussi dans l'Anthologie Palatine et dans quelques autres manuscrits (Voy. la note de M. Boiss.). Pour moi, j'avoue que la leçon du C. G. qui retranche le v. 9, et les vv. 14 et 15, me plaît assez, puisque le poète reprend les astres dont il a déjà parlé (vv. 10 et 11), et qu'il ne parle pas d'Orion. Quant aux trois adjectifs des vv. 12, 13, 14, je doute qu'ils

soient d'Anacréon ; je les croirais plutôt de quelque moine , qui les aura fabriqués pour charmer son oreille : peut-être de l'auteur (*imitator ineptissimus*, Mœb.) du chef-d'œuvre suivant. — Les vv. 12 et 13 offrent la leçon du C. Vat. (excepté κατ' ἀγῶν). Les autres leçons n'ont rien de remarquable : il serait possible cependant que le v. 7 du C. G. valut celui des Editions , malgré la spondée du second pied. (Voyez Boiss. Not. Ode XVIII.)





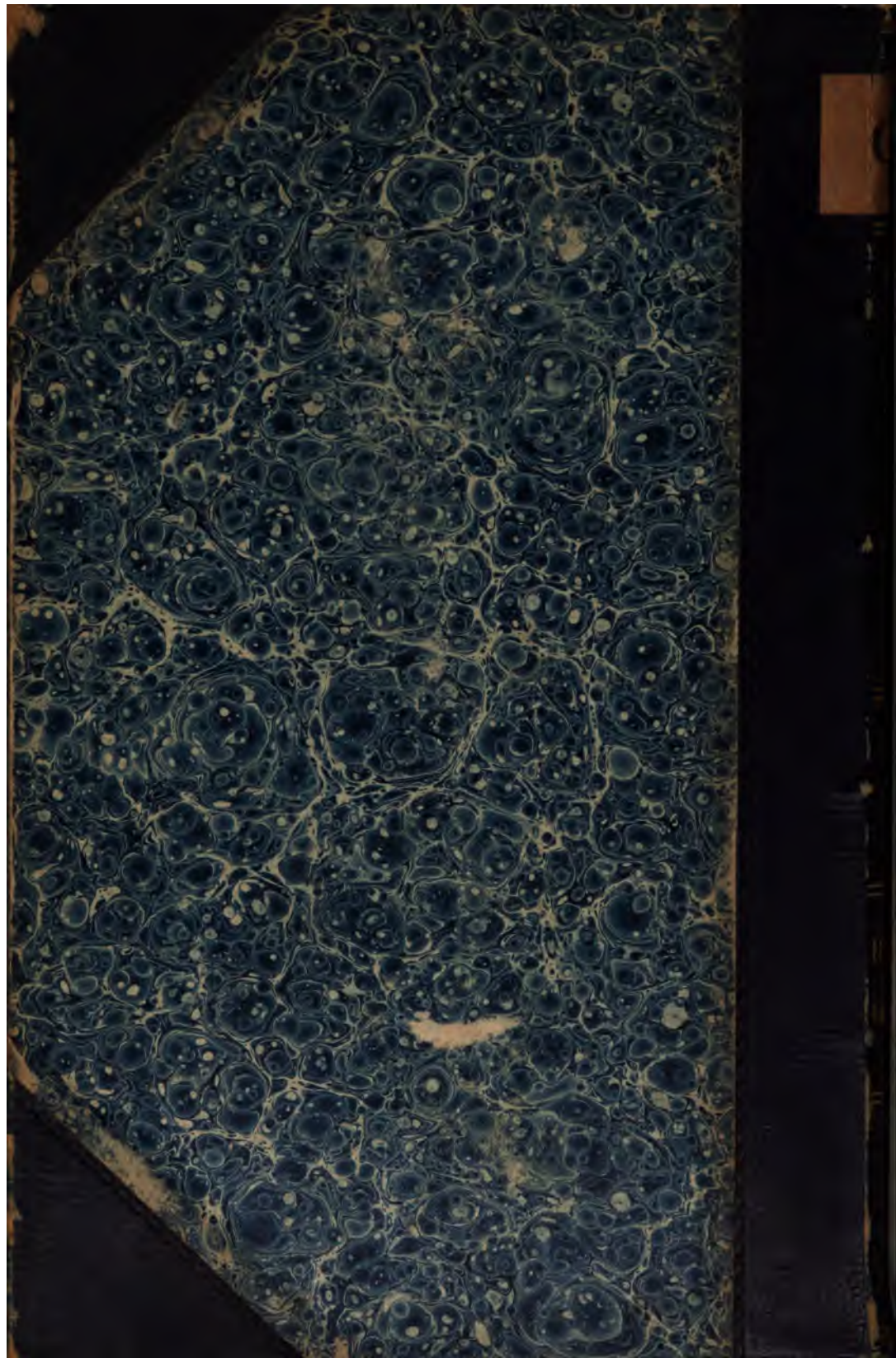




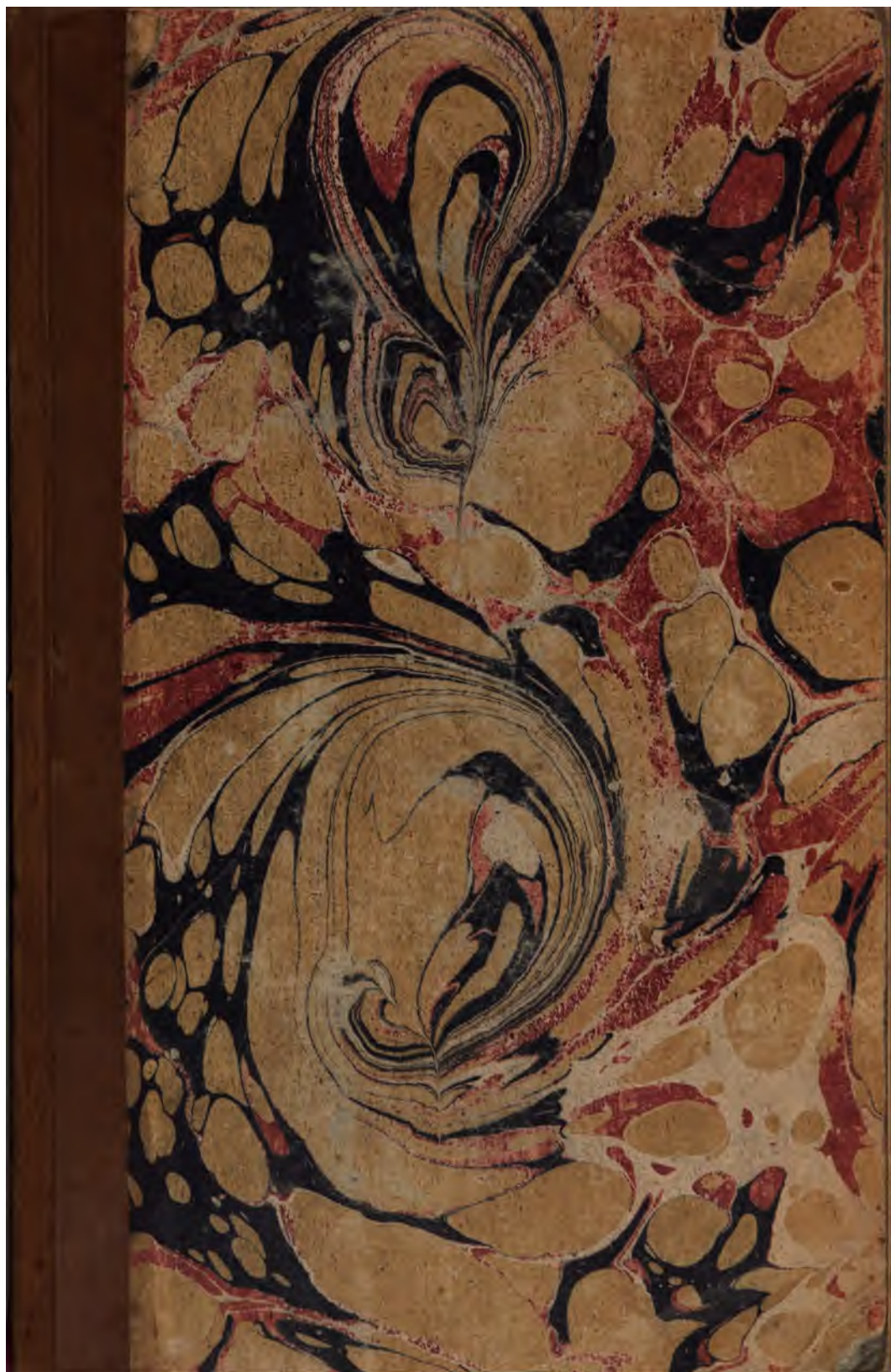




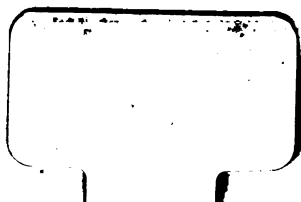




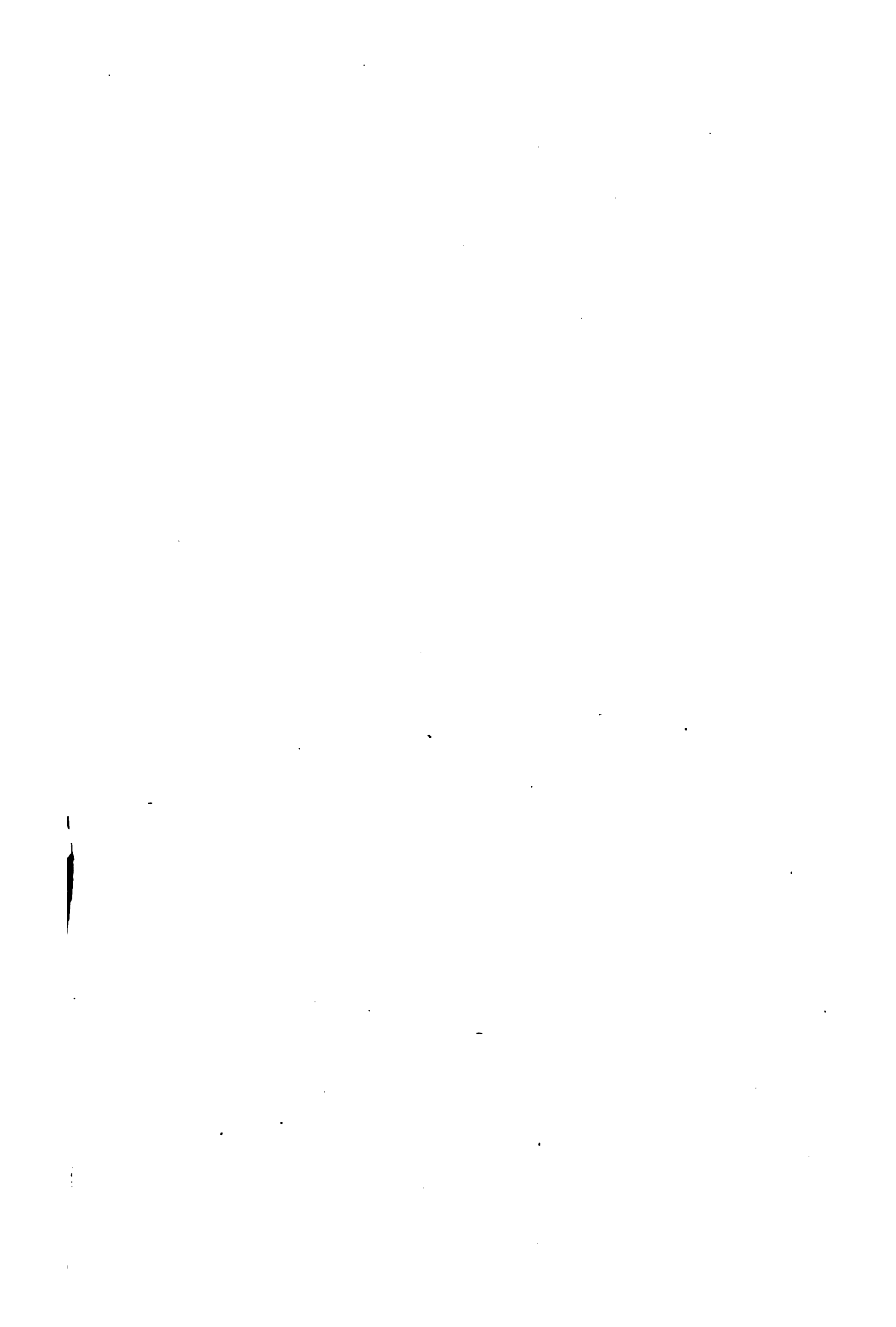




43. 1059.









A CONCISE  
HISTORICAL SKETCH  
OF THE  
PROGRESS OF PHARMACY  
IN GREAT BRITAIN,  
FROM THE TIME OF  
ITS PARTIAL SEPARATION FROM THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE  
UNTIL  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
THE PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY.  
INTENDED AS  
AN INTRODUCTION  
TO  
THE PHARMACEUTICAL JOURNAL.

BY  
JACOB BELL.

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1843.

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C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND, LONDON.

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# HISTORICAL SKETCH

## OF THE PROGRESS OF

### PHARMACY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

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At the period at which our history commences, Pharmacy was in the hands of the Physicians, who professed the healing art in all its branches, and prepared their medicines themselves, or superintended the preparation of them. The science of medicine was so little understood, and so imperfectly cultivated, that it was in general practised empirically, and was often confounded with sorcery and witchcraft. The Greek word, *Φάρμακον*, signifies either to practise witchcraft or to use medicine, and this acceptance of the term was acted upon in our own country as late as the 16th century. There were, therefore, persons of various classes, both men and women, who professed to cure disease, some by incantations, others, who considered that by their genius they were "cut out and configured for it;" and others, again, who had obtained a kind of traditional education from recognised Physicians, and who therefore constituted the medical profession.

But no laws existed for the protection of the public from ignorant practitioners. Indeed, it was difficult to discriminate between the different degrees of ignorance which prevailed: so much so, that it was not uncommon for patients to be placed in public thoroughfares, in the hope that some of the persons who happened to pass might be able to recommend a remedy from the result of their own experience, when afflicted with similar symptoms. The first act of parliament relating to the medical profession was passed in the year 1511, and is entitled "*An Act for the appointing of Physicians and Surgeons.*"

The preamble is worded thus:

\* "Forasmuch as the science and cunning of Physick and Surgery (to the perfect knowledge of which be requisite both great learning and ripe experience) is daily within this realm exercised by a great multitude of ignorant persons, of whom the greater part have no manner of insight in the same, nor in any other kind of learning; some also can read no letters on the

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\* 3 Henry VIII, c. 9.

book, so far forth that common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and women, boldly and accustomedly take upon them great cures, and things of great difficulty, in the which they partly use sorcery and witchcraft, partly apply such medicines unto the disease as be very noxious, and nothing meet therefore, to the high displeasure of God, great infamy to the faculty, and the greivous hurt, damage, and destruction of many of the King's liege people; most especially of them that cannot discern the uncunning from the cunning. Be it therefore (to the surety and comfort of all manner of people) by the authority of this present Parliament enacted, That no person within the city of London, nor within seven miles of the same, take upon him to exercise and occupy as a Physician or Surgeon, except he be first examined, approved, and admitted by the Bishop of London, or by the Dean of St. Paul's, for the time being, calling to him or them four Doctors of Physic, and for Surgery, other expert persons in that faculty: and for the first examination such as they shall think convenient, and afterward alway four of them that have been so approved. \* \* \*

"That no person out of the said city and precinct of seven miles of the same, except he have been (as is aforesaid) approved in the same, take upon him to exercise and occupy as a Physician or Surgeon, in any diocess, within this realm, but if he be first examined and approved by the Bishop of the same diocess, or he being out of the diocess, by his vicar-general: either of them calling to them such expert persons in the said faculties, as their discretion shall think convenient". \* \* \* \*

By this act the faculty of medicine was vested in one body of practitioners, who practised Medicine, Surgery, and Pharmacy. The Physicians' assistants were styled Apothecaries, and they, gradually acquiring information respecting the properties of drugs, began to transact business on their own account.

In the year 1518, Thomas Linacre, the Physician of Henry the Eighth, proposed the establishment of a College of Physicians, which was accomplished on the 23d of September of that year. The powers of this body were extended in the year 1540: the Physicians were exonerated from the necessity of attendance on juries and parochial offices,† and were empowered to enter the houses of Apothecaries in London, "to search, view, and see the Apothecary-wares, drugs, and stuffs," and to destroy such as they found corrupt or unfit for use. In the same year the Barbers and Surgeons were united into one company, but the Surgeons were prohibited from shaving, and the Barbers were restricted from performing any surgical operations, except drawing teeth. The Physicians, however, were allowed to practise surgery.

The Surgeons having abused their privileges, an act was passed, in the year 1542, of which the following is the substance:

Whereas in the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the third year of the King's Most Gracious Reign, amongst other things, for the avoïding of sorceries, witchcrafts, and other inconveniences, it was enacted, That no person within the City of London, nor within seven miles of the same

\* Dr. Goodall's History of the College of Physicians.

† The Surgeons had been exonerated from these duties in the year 1513.

should take upon him to exercise and occupy as Physician and Surgeon, except he be first examined, admitted, and approved by the Bishop of London, &c. \* \* : Sithence the making of which said Act, the Company and Fellowship of Surgeons of London, minding onely their owne lucre, and nothing the profit or ease of the diseased or patient, have sued, troubled, and vexed divers honest persons, as well men as women, whom God hath endued with the knowledge of the nature, kind, and operation of certain herbs, roots, and waters, and the using and ministering of them, to such as have been pained with customable diseases, as women's breasts being sore, a pin and the web in the eye, uncomes of the hands, scaldings, burnings, sore mouths, the stone, stranguary, saucelin, and morpew, and such other like diseases. \* \* \* And yet the said persons have not taken anything for their pains or cunning. \* \* In consideration whereof, and for the ease, comfort, succour, help, relief, and health of the King's poor subjects, inhabitants of this his realm, now pained or diseased, or that hereafter shall be pained or diseased, Be it ordained, &c., that at all time from henceforth it shall be lawfull to every person being the King's subject, having knowledge and experience of the nature of herbs, roots, and waters, &c., to use and minister \* \* according to their cunning, experience, and knowledge \* \* the aforesaid statute \* \* or any other act notwithstanding."

This act is understood to apply to the practice of medicine without remuneration, and accordingly it was not uncommon for empirics to evade the law by pretending to practise gratuitously. This, however, was not always successful; and Dr. Goodall's *History of the PROCEEDINGS against EMPIRICS* (published in 1684) contains an account of numerous prosecutions, in which the law was put in force in a summary manner.

In the year 1552, *Grig*, a poulterer, in Surrey, "taken among the people for a prophet, in curing divers diseases by words and prayers, and saying he would take no money," was set on a scaffold in the town of Croydon, with a paper on his breast, declaring him to be an impostor. He was afterwards set on a pillory in Southwark.

In the reign of Queen Mary, a great number of empirical impostors were prosecuted and punished, not only in London but in other parts of the country; and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, these prosecutions continued, the delinquents being fined various sums from £5 to £20, and in many cases being imprisoned. Some of these quacks were patronised by persons of rank, who wrote to the President of the College on their behalf. Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, interceded on behalf of "*Margaret Kennix*, an outlandish ignorant sorry woman," but the College refused to remit the sentence (1581).

*John Booffeat* (1583) was liberated from prison on the intercession of a person of quality, upon condition that he would submit to any penalty the College might inflict, if he ever practised again.

*Paul Fairfax* (1588) was prosecuted for cheating the people by puffing the pretended virtues of a water which he called *Aqua Cælestis*. He was fined £5 and imprisoned. The Lord

Chamberlain addressed the College on his behalf, but to no purpose.

*Paul Buck* (1593), having been imprisoned for illegal practice, obtained letters of recommendation from Sir Francis Walsingham, the Lord High Admiral Howard, and Lord Essex.

*John Lumkin*, a surgeon (1593), being convicted of *mala praxis* on several patients, and being committed to prison, *propter malam praxin, et immodestos mores*, obtained letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Dean of Rochester, and was released on bail.

In the year 1552, the question was argued before the lord mayor, whether Surgeons might give inward medicines, and the president of the College of Physicians was summoned to give his opinion, in accordance with which, the lord mayor decided that it was illegal for Surgeons to practise medicine. The College of Physicians issued a letter in 1595, prohibiting their interference with medical practice.

The question was again tried in the cases of *Read* and *Jenkins*, in 1595, when the chief justice decided,

"That no Surgeon, as a Surgeon, might practise physic for any disease;" and that "no man, though never so learned a Physician or Doctour, might practise in London, or within seven miles, without the college licence."

In the year 1553, the College of Physicians obtained a new act \*, in which their former powers † were confirmed and enlarged, and in which it is stated that "the four censors, or any three of them, shall have authority to examine, survey, govern, correct, and punish all and singular Physicians and practisers in the faculty of physic, Apothecaries, Druggists, Distillers, and sellers of waters and oils, and preparers of chemical medicines," "according as the nature of his or their offences may seem to require."

In 1602, *Francis Anthony* was fined several times and imprisoned, for persisting in the administration of his *Aurum Potabile*, with which he occasioned the death of many patients.

*Dr. Alexander Leighton* (1627) was interdicted from practice, being found unqualified, on examination by the president and censors; he persisted in practice, was arrested, and censured in the Star chamber and lost his ears. *Ellin Rix* undertook to cure a boy of consumption in fourteen days for £3. "She gave him purging drinks once a day for seven days together, and twice a day for 14 days more." The boy died a fortnight after. She was fined £5 and imprisoned 14 days.

*Mr. Briscoe*, an apothecary, (1634) appeared before the president and censors, being accused of "falsifying a bill," having

\* 1 Mary, c. 9.

† 32 Henry VIII., c. 40 (1540).



administered 2 drachms of *troch. alkakengi cum opio* instead of *troch. gordonii*, as prescribed by Dr. Johnson, without asking the Doctor's opinion, for which offence he was fined 5 marques and expelled the company.

It is uncertain at what period the Physicians gave up the practice of preparing their own medicines; we are informed, in a work entitled "*Short Answers to Tentamen Medicinale*" (1704).

"'Tis very well known there was no such thing as a Company of Apothecaries in the beginning of King James the First's reign, but what drugs and medicines were then in use, were sold in common by the grocers; and as for the preparing and compounding of them, that the Physicians principally took care of themselves. But this growing too servile and laborious a business, and no other means being likely to be found out for easing themselves of it, but by lopping off a considerable number of grocers who had mostly been brought up that way, and constituting them a company by themselves, wholly to be employed in the business of pharmacy, in selling of drugs and preparing and compounding of medicines, according to the Physicians' orders and directions; in order to this they obtained a charter for them to the number of a hundred and fourteen."

This number coincides with the number of Physicians who were then in practice in London.

The Apothecaries (who had been incorporated with the Grocers into one company in the year 1606) were separated, and obtained the charter above mentioned in 1617. It was enacted at the same time that no grocer should keep an Apothecary's shop, and that no Surgeon should sell medicines. The power of searching the shops of Apothecaries within seven miles of London, and examining their drugs, was also vested in the chartered body.

Soon after the Apothecaries were formed into a Society, they took into their serious consideration the frauds and artifices practised by the Grocers and Druggists from whom they obtained their drugs; and in order to remedy this evil, they established a dispensary in the year 1623, for the purpose of making some of the most important preparations for the use of their own members. This institution was placed under the inspection and superintendence of a Committee of Apothecaries, and was conducted, in the first instance, on a small scale, being confined to the manufacture of a limited number of preparations.

The first Pharmacopœia was published by the College of Physicians in the year 1618. This was the first step towards reducing the processes of Pharmacy to a regular standard for the guidance of dispensers of medicine. It was, however, a very imperfect production. Subsequent editions have been published by the college in 1621, 1632, 1639, 1650, 1677, 1721, 1746, 1788, 1809, 1815, 1824, and 1836.

The medicinal compounds formerly employed were chiefly

empirical nostrums, or heterogeneous mixtures of substances, some of which neutralized others, and which were selected without any reference to scientific principles. One of the most striking instances of this practice is to be found in the Mithridate, which was a compound of seventy-two ingredients; and in looking over the ancient works on Pharmacy, a great variety of ridiculous formulæ present the same peculiarity. The science of Chemistry was so little advanced, that the real composition of ordinary remedies was seldom understood, and in many cases different virtues were attributed to the same substance, according to the source from whence it was obtained. Thus crab's eyes, prepared pearls, oystershells, and burnt hartshorn, were severally recommended as specifics in certain cases, the qualities of these remedies being supposed to be essentially different. Snails, vipers, the urine of men and animals, calculous concretions, various portions of criminals, as the thigh bone of a hanged man, and many other equally absurd remedies, were extolled as specifics for a variety of disorders.

Culpeper, in his translation of the Pharmacopœia (1653), ridicules the catalogue of remedies derived from the animal kingdom, which were at that time enumerated in the Pharmacopœia of the college. The following is a portion of a list which will serve as a specimen, with Culpeper's remarks in parentheses.

*"The fat, grease, or suet of a duck, goose, eel, bore, heron, thymallos (if you know where to get it), dog, capon, beaver, wild cat, stork, hedgehog, hen, man, lion, hare, kite, or jack (if they have any fat, I am persuaded 'tis worth twelve-pence the grain), wolf, mouse of the mountains (If you can catch them), pardal, hog, serpent, badger, bear, fox, vultur (if you can catch them), album Græcum, east and west benzoar, stone taken out of a man's bladder, viper's flesh, the brain of hares and sparrows, the rennet of a lamb, kid, hare, and a calf and a horse too (quoth the colledg.) [They should have put the rennet of an ass to make medicine for their addle brains.] The excrement of a goose, of a dog, of a goat, of pigeons, of a stone horse, of swallows, of men, of women, of mice, of peacocks," &c. &c.*

Although Culpeper abuses the college for inserting this absurd catalogue of remedies in their Pharmacopœia, he is not free from superstition himself, as he tells us, that "Bees being burnt to ashes, and a ly made with the ashes trimly decks a bald head, being washed with it." He also extols snails, as a cure for consumption, but blames the college for directing the slime to be separated from them with salt or bran before they are used, and supports his opinion by saying, that "Man being made of the slime of the earth, the slimy substance recovers him when he is wasted."

In describing *verberna* he says, "It is hot and dry, a great opener, cleanser, and healer, it helps the yellow jaundice, defects in the reins and bladder, and pains in the head, if it be but bruised and hung about the neck."

Of scammony, he says, "*Scammony*, or *diagridium*, call it by which name you please, is a desperate purge, harmful to the body by reason of its heat, windiness, corroding or knawing, and violence of working. I should advise my country to let it alone; 'twill gnaw their bodies as fast as doctors gnaw their purses."

Culpeper says, that "The head of a cole-black cat being burnt to ashes in a new pot, and some of the ashes blown into the eye every day, helps such as have a skin growing over their sight. If there happen any inflammation, moisten an oak leaf in water and lay it over the eye."

The compound waters, syrups, electuaries, and other preparations used at that time contain a vast number of herbs, flowers, juices, roots, &c., which are now obsolete, being found to be quite inert, and the properties ascribed to these remedies had reference, in many instances, to superstitious notions which belonged to the age. Culpeper, in the title-page of his *Pharmacopœia*, styles himself "*Nich. Culpeper, Gent., Student in Physick and Astrology*," and in reading the work it is difficult to determine which science preponderates.

Notwithstanding the superstitious prejudices which prevail in the work, we see nevertheless in many passages an evidence of a close observance of nature, and just reasoning; for instance, in the translator's preface, we are told that "The time to gather all roots is before the herbs run up to seed." "Herbs are to be gathered when they are fullest of juice, which is before they run up to seed: and if you gather them in a hot sunshine day, they will not be so subject to putrifie. The best way to dry them is in the sun, according to Dr. REASON, though not according to Dr. TRADITION. Let flowers be gathered when they are in their prime, in a sunshine day, and dried in the sun. Let the seeds be perfectly ripe before they are gathered."

"In boyling syrups," Culpeper says, "have a great care of their just consistence, for if you boyl them too much they will candy, if too little, they will sour."

The *Materia Medica* was divided into two classes, Chymicals and Galenicals. The "Chymical Medicins" were of mineral origin, and prepared by fire; the Galenicals comprised the herbs, roots, and other vegetable or animal substances. The trade in these articles was also distinct, and Chymists are alluded to in works of the date now under consideration, as being a class of men who prepared these mineral compounds for the use of the Apothecaries.

THE TRIUMPHANT CHARIOT OF ANTIMONY, by Basil Valentine, a work published in 1678, contains a curious account of that metal, with a great variety of processes for reducing it into a proper state for medicinal use. "This unlocking and preparing of mineral antimony," the author observes, "is performed

## 10 MERCHANTS, DRUGGISTS, APOTHECARIES, AND CHYMISTS.

by divers methods and ways, by the dispose and governance of the fire, with manifold labour of the hands, whence proceeds the operation, virtue, power, and colour of the medicine itself."

Antimony had hitherto been considered a poison, destitute of any utility, and was generally denounced by the profession; but Basil Valentine undertook to prove that it is "more than any one simple of nature able to subdue and expel infinite diseases." He says, "The life of no one man is sufficient for him to learn all the mysteries thereof;" and that "when it is rightly prepared, its medicinal virtue consumes all noxious humours, purifies the blood in the highest degree, and performs all that may be effected by *aurum potable*."

In tracing the origin of customs which are involved in the mist of antiquity, we are sometimes enabled to draw inferences, in cases where there is no very definite record of facts. In this respect, the following extracts from a pamphlet, published in the year 1671, entitled "*The Wisdom of the Nation is Foolishness*," serve to throw some light upon the subject.

"Dr. Merret, a collegiate physician of London, and a practiser thirty years with Apothecaries, gives this account of them in his book lately put forth (page 8): They use medicines quite contrary to the prescriptions—myrtle leaves for senna, &c. \* \* \* They falsify the grand compositions of the London Dispensary \* \* \* (page 9). 'Tis very common for them to load medicines with honey, and other cheaper ingredients, and to leave out in whole or in part those of greater value \* \* \* Such Chymists which sell preparations honestly made, complain that few Apothecaries will go to the price of them \* \* \* All the drugs imported into England sooner or later are sold or made into medicines, although they have lain by years, with the MERCHANT, DRUGGIST, and APOTHECARY, before they are used."

Chemists are alluded to in a quaint poem, published in the year 1680, of which one stanza will serve as a specimen:

"'Mongst all professions in the town,  
Held most in renown,  
From th' sword to the gown,  
The upstart Chymist rules the roast;  
For he with his pill,  
Does ev'n what he will,  
Employing his skill  
Good subjects to kill,  
That he of his dangerous art may boast.  
O 'tis the Chymist, that man of the fire,  
Who, by his black art,  
Does soul and body part;  
He smokes us, and choaks us,  
And leaves us like Dun in the mire."

The following is an extract from an advertisement published in the year 1686:

### "GAZA CHYMICA.

"A magazine or storehouse of choice chymical medicines, faithfully prepared in my laboratory, at the sign of Hermes Trismegistus, in Watlin Street, London—by me, George Wilson, Philo-Chym."

A house and shop, with a laboratory, were built on the Bedford estate, in the year 1706, by Ambrose Godfrey Hanckwitz, who had carried on business as a chymist in the neighbourhood since 1680. He was a maker of phosphorus and other chymicals, which were rare at that period, and which he sold in different parts of the country during his travels. His laboratory was a fashionable resort in the afternoon, on certain occasions, when he performed popular experiments for the amusement of his friends. It opened with glass-doors into a garden, which extended as far as the Strand, but which is now built upon. Four curious old prints of the laboratory in its former state, are in the possession of its present proprietors, Messrs. Godfrey and Cooke, of Southampton Street, Covent Garden, also a portrait of Ambrose Godfrey Hanckwitz, engraved by George Vertue (1718), which he distributed among his customers as a keepsake.

The merchants and druggists, being a section of the grocer's company, merely sold articles in the raw or unprepared state, and the Chemists (who were not incorporated) took upon themselves the duty of preparing those medicines which required the aid of fire, and which were chiefly, if not entirely, minerals, earths, or preparations of the metals; and it is probable that the class alluded to derived their origin from the alchemists. It is unnecessary here to enter fully into the history of the alchemists, which would lead us into a series of details too voluminous for our present purpose. We need only observe, that their lives were devoted to the most persevering and laborious researches, undertaken in the hope of discovering an imaginary treasure, the *elixir vitæ* or *philosopher's stone*, from which they expected to obtain the power of transmuting the baser metals into gold, and also to prolong life.

M. Dumas gives the following as the process recommended by Raymond Lulle, who was born in 1235:

"To make the *elixir of the sages*, or the *philosopher's stone* (and by this word *stone* the alchemists did not mean literally a stone, but a certain compound having the power of multiplying gold, and to which they almost always attributed a red colour), to make the *elixir of the sages*, take the *mercury of philosophers* (lead), calcine it until it is transformed into a *green lion* (massicot); after it has undergone this change, calcine it again, until it becomes a *red lion* (minium). Digest in a sand-bath this *red lion* with *acid spirit of grapes* (vinegar), evaporate this product, and the mercury will be converted into a kind of *gum* (acetate of lead) which may be cut with a knife: put this gummy matter into a luted cucurbit and distil it with heat. You will obtain an insipid phlegm, then spirit, and red drops. Cymmerian shades will cover the cucurbit with their sombre veil, and you will find in the interior a true dragon, for he eats his tail (*i. e.* the distilled liquor dissolves the residuum). Take this black dragon, break him on a stone, and touch him with red charcoal: he will burn, and assuming a glorious yellow colour, he will reproduce the *green lion*. Make him swallow his tail and

distil this product again. Lastly, rectify carefully and you will see appear *burning water* (pyro-acetic spirit) and *human blood*.”\*

This substance, called by the alchymist *human blood*, is a reddish-brown oil, which is formed during the distillation of the acetic acid in the above process. This oil has the property of precipitating gold, in the metallic state, from solutions containing that metal; which property probably gave rise to an idea that it possessed the virtues which were so much desired. It wants, however, one very important property; namely, that of precipitating gold when there is none of that metal in the solution.

The Society of Apothecaries, which was formed in 1617, continued to prosper; and in the year 1671, they added a Chemical Laboratory to the Dispensary, which had been instituted in 1623. This was done by subscription, and the object contemplated in it was the preparation of chemicals for the use of the subscribers. It had been found no less difficult to obtain this class of substances in a state of purity, than the ordinary drugs which were sold by the Merchants and Grocers, and by thus uniting in one establishment the preparations of “Chemicals” and “Galenicals,” the Apothecaries opened out a new field of research to the members of their body, from which important results have arisen. The institution was, in the first instance, conducted on a small scale, commensurate with the limited means and the purpose for which it was designed; but the superior quality of the articles prepared by this Company of Apothecaries, led to an application (in 1682) on the part of other persons for a participation in the advantage.

We are not informed how soon this request was complied with, but within a few years the Company became a trading body, and supplied any customers who came in their way.

About this period, Prince George of Denmark, the Lord High Admiral, contracted with the Company to furnish the Royal Navy with Drugs and Chemicals; and the increase in the demand rendered a considerable extension of premises and apparatus necessary, which was done by fresh subscriptions of large amount. By this means, the establishment became converted into a wholesale drug warehouse and manufactory, and although the original subscribers did not at first realize much if any pecuniary advantage, they laid the foundation for a very lucrative concern.

Bate's Dispensatory, or, as it is usually termed, the *Pharmacopœia Bateana*, was published in 1691. It is arranged in three

\* *Leçons sur la Philosophie Chimique.* Par M. Dumas, 1837. For an outline of the History of the Alchemy and the Alchemists, see *Histoire de la Chimie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à notre époque.* Par Le Dr. Ferd Hoefcr. Tome Premier, 1842.

divisions : 1. Compound Chymick Internals ; 2. Compound Galenick Internals ; 3. Compound Externals. This work is curious on account of the mixture which it displays of laborious research and superstitious ignorance peculiar to the age.

In Quincey's "New Dispensatory," which enjoyed great celebrity, a different arrangement is adopted ; the preparations being generally classified according to their effects, and the author enters at some length into the subject of therapeutics. The tenth edition was published in 1736.

In the year 1694, Apothecaries were exempted from serving the offices of constable, scavenger, and other parish duties, and from attendance on juries. By this time we are informed that their number had increased from 114 to nearly 1000. They had become a very influential body ; and by practising medicine as well as Pharmacy, they excited the jealousy of the Physicians, who suffered materially from this encroachment, and endeavoured to reduce their rivals to their original condition, of grocers or vendors of drugs. The contest rose to a great height ; on one side it was alleged that the improvement which had taken place among the Apothecaries was a great benefit to the public, and that the Physicians, by endeavouring to restrain them, were undoing what the labour of their predecessors had accomplished ; while the other party animadverted on the extortionate charges of the Apothecaries, and the loss which the public sustained in being deprived of the advantage of the best advice in many cases, for which it was impossible to pay both the Physician and the Apothecary.

The evil was felt especially by the poor, and in order to meet the emergency, some of the Physicians united together in the establishment of dispensaries, where they supplied medicines on reasonable terms, employing assistants to dispense them under their own superintendence.

The following is a copy of an instrument subscribed by the President, Censors, most of the Elects, Senior Fellows, Candidates, &c., of the College of Physicians, in relation to the sick poor :—

"Whereas the several orders of the College of Physicians, London, for prescribing medicines gratis to the poor sick of the cities of London and Westminster, and parts adjacent, as also the proposals made by the said College to the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of London, in pursuance thereof, have hitherto been ineffectual, for that no method hath been taken to furnish the poor with medicines at low and reasonable rates : we, therefore, whose names are hereunder written, Fellows or Members of the said College, being willing effectually to promote so great a charity, by the counsel and good liking of the President and College, declared in their Comitia, hereby (to wit, each of us severally and apart, and not the one for the other of us) do oblige ourselves to pay to Dr. Thomas Burwell, Fellow and Elect of the said College, the sum of Ten Pounds a-piece of lawful

#### 14 DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PHYSICIANS AND APOTHECARIES.

money of England, by such proportions, and at such times, as to the major part of the Subscribers here shall seem most convenient: which money when received by the said Dr. Thomas Burwell, is to be by him expended in preparing and delivering medicines to the poor at their intrinsic value, in such manner, and at such times, and by such orders and directions, as by the major part of the Subscribers hereto in writing shall be hereafter appointed and directed for that purpose. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this twenty-second day of December, 1696."

This document was published with fifty-three signatures and the following note:—

"The design of printing the Subscribers' names is to show, that the late undertaking has the sanction of a College act: and that it is not a project carried on by five or six Members, as those that oppose it would unjustly insinuate."

Three dispensaries were established, one at the Physicians' college in Warwick Lane; another in St. Martin's Lane, Westminster; and a third in St. Peter's Alley, Cornhill. They came into operation about the beginning of February, 1697, and were soon very generally resorted to for the preparation of Physicians' prescriptions, or "bills," as they were then termed, and also for the sale of medicines by retail.

The establishment of these institutions gave great offence to the Apothecaries, whose feelings on the occasion are thus expressed in the words of Garth, in his "Dispensary":—

"Our manufactures now the Doctors sell,  
And their intrinsic value meanly tell;  
Nay, they discover too (their spite is such)  
That health, than crowns more valued, costs not much;  
Whilst we must shape our conduct by these rules,  
To cheat as tradesmen, or to starve as fools."

A violent contest arose, and pamphlets were published on both sides of the question. It was asserted by the Apothecaries, that the assistants employed at the dispensaries were unqualified—that the drugs were of bad quality, and the management in other respects defective. As a contrast to these abuses, the education and usefulness of the Apothecaries were insisted on in terms like the following:—

"Every Apothecary has eight years in his apprenticeship, by his own observation, to acquaint himself with drugs and plants, by the frequent use of them in the shops, besides often visiting the markets and physic-gardens; and several set days in the summer, the Company have to go into the country, on purpose to make acquaintance with all the vegetable tribes, the seniors, and more experienced, instructing the juniors. Then there is an elaboratory at their hall, open to all the Company, where they may see all the necessary processes of the chemical preparations, by which the different natures, &c., of bodies are laid open."

The following are the "*reasons*" which the Physicians gave "*for sending their wealthy patients, as well as the poor, to the dispensaries for their medicines:*"

"First. Because the Physicians, prescribing for them, were assured, that the medicines there were undoubtedly the best.



"Secondly. Because many excellent remedies are there deposited, which have never yet been trusted in the Apothecaries' shops.

"Thirdly. Because the Physician was not obliged to prostitute his honour and conscience by overloading his patient, to oblige a craving Apothecary, or run the risk of being undermined in his reputation by slanderous suggestions, for not submitting to be the Apothecaries' under-pickpocket.

"Lastly. Because he could serve his patient, quantity for quantity, and quality for quality, fifteen shillings in the pound cheaper than anywhere else: which is a thrift the greatest man that does not love to be cheated need not be ashamed of."

In corroboration of the justice of these allegations, with reference to the charges of Apothecaries, and the quantity of medicine they administered, an instance is quoted in the pamphlet above mentioned (*"The Wisdom of the Nation is Foolishness"*), and some of the items are enumerated.

"Apothecary's bill for attending Mr. Dalby, of Ludgate Hill, five days, total amount, £17 2s. 10d."

The following are the items of medicines for *one day* :

<i>August 12th.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
An emulsion . . . . .	4 6	Another bolus . . . . .	2 6
A mucilage . . . . .	3 4	Another draught . . . . .	2 4
Gelly of hartshorn . . . . .	4 0	A glass of cordial spirits . . . . .	3 6
Plaster to dress blister . . . . .	1 0	Blistering plaster to the arms . . . . .	5 0
An emollient gister . . . . .	2 6	The same to the wrists . . . . .	5 0
An ivory pipe armed . . . . .	1 0	Two boluses again . . . . .	5 0
A cordial bolus . . . . .	2 6	Two draughts again . . . . .	4 8
The same again . . . . .	2 6	Another emulsion . . . . .	4 6
A cordial draught . . . . .	2 4	Another pearl julep . . . . .	4 6"
The same again . . . . .	2 4		

This is quoted, not as an isolated case, but as an illustration of the practice of Apothecaries when attending patients of the higher classes.

Dr. Pitt, in a book entitled "*The Craft and Frauds of Physic exposed*" (1703) states,

"The *Dispensary* at the *College*, where all the preparations are made, and distributed to its now two branches, in *St. Martin's Lane, Westminster*, and *St. Peter's Alley, in Cornhill*, may probably make up yearly twenty thousand prescriptions. The doses of the electuaries, juleps, pills, &c. one with the other, may be about a penny a piece, though every the most useful drug, though of the highest prices, is in every composition. There never was, or ever will be, the least profit, beyond the necessary expense of servants, &c."

Dr. Pitt observes, in his preface, that when the abuses in the profession are complained of,

"The old usually answer, that they are ashamed to own the villainy of their long former bills, by reforming their practice now. Others tell you that they'll leave physic as they found it, and not give themselves the trouble to treat the sick more faithfully. There are of the confederates who have said, that their scandalous profession would not last above four years, being every day more and more suspected, that they must make haste by venturing largely, to secure something by that time.

"But the affair is now laid clearly before you : in your judgment of it,

you are not capable of any error or fallacy. You see by the prices of the Dispensary, which are the just prices of the best medicines of the shop. You may observe by their practice and more certain success, that two or three medicines every day, at the value of as many shillings, overcome those diseases, which the more numerous aggravate to the death of the patient in all the difficult and dangerous cases. You may conclude from the whole, that this is the greatest instance and degree of madness, to rely on any advice, when the fee is procured by the multitude of medicines obtruded on all the diseases in all the constitutions.

"We know an Apothecary who over night appointed his servant to make ready twenty boles out of one pot, and twenty draughts out of one glass. These he conveyed to his customers the next morning, to the old and young, to the male and female, without distinction, and promised a new supply in the afternoon."

Another argument advanced by Dr. Pitt in favour of the Dispensaries is this :

"When the Apothecary deserts his station, is always abroad, and leaves the compounding part to his young unexperienced apprentice, who cannot avoid sometimes misusing one thing for another, by which errors very many are known to have lost their lives, you will allow that the people and the College shall reasonably provide for the safety of themselves and their patients."

Dr. Pitt exposes the absurd notions which at that time prevailed respecting the supposed virtues of many inert substances ; as, for instance, the Bezoar stone, which, he says, "has held its name and reputation almost sacred with us, though exploded long since in almost all other parts of Europe."

His observations on the "*Chymical medicins*" would almost apply to the homœopathic doses now in fashion.

"Their uses are very considerable to amuse the minds of the people with an assured expectation of relief from the magnify'd pretended powers of the preparations by fire\* against all the feebleness of the spirits, and the last concluding coldness of death. And their titles are very necessary to keep up the fallacy of the dearness of medicines : every chymical grain or drop are the bezoar and the pearl, to deceive the people into an opinion of their value."

"The profession has sunk into the craft of deceiving and amusing and making profit by new medicines, or preparations brought into fashion, and highly esteemed, as long as the mode of crying them up shall last."

These assertions of Dr. Pitt, and other allegations of a similar nature against the Apothecaries, were answered by an Apothecary, in a small work above alluded to, entitled *TENTAMEN MEDICINALE, or an Enquiry into the Differences between DISPENSARIANS and APOTHECARIES, wherein the latter are proved capable of a skilful composition of Medicines, and a rational practice of Physick, to which are added some PROPOSALS to prevent their future increase.* (1704).

Among other arguments, it is said, that

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\* Homœopathically, for "fire" read "friction in a mortar." See p. 94.

"The Physicians' directions in their bills, or dispensatory, are not sufficient to instruct any one in the true composition of medicines there prescribed, unless he first be thoroughly acquainted with the nature and qualities of simple body's, and qualify'd with most parts of knowledge necessary to one as a Physician. From whence it may justly be infer'd, that he who is accomplished for a good Apothecary, is upon the borders of making a good Physician."

In answer to the four "*Reasons*" above quoted, in favour of the Dispensaries, it is stated, that it is absurd to suppose that the Physicians can make their medicines better than the Apothecaries, since they devote so much less time to this pursuit; that "when a Physician has got a guinea for his visit, it seldom much concerns his honour or conscience, how the Apothecary shall get a shilling for his medicines;" and that the assertions respecting the sophistication of drugs by Apothecaries, are unjust and unfounded exaggerations.

The plan for preventing the further increase of Apothecaries, consisted in the institution of a strict examination of apprentices in Latin and Greek, public lectures at the hall, instruction in practical Pharmacy, and an examination at the close of apprenticeship, prior to the granting of a licence to practise as an Apothecary.

In another pamphlet, entitled "*The Necessity and Usefulness of the DISPENSARIES, lately set up by the College of Physicians in London, for the use of the SICK POOR, together with an Answer to all the objections rais'd against them by the APOTHECARIES, or others*" (1702), it is stated, that the Physicians were obliged to send their wealthy patients to the dispensaries in self-defence, because the Apothecaries entered into a combination to denounce all those who had subscribed to those institutions, and recommend others in their stead; that they purposely sent "ill-prepar'd medecins," in order "to make the patients question the Physicians' skill," and that they sometimes continued to keep patients in their own hands, even when labouring under dangerous disorders; and that, therefore, they required some check. It is also said, that the patients complained of the dearness of medicines sold by Apothecaries; as, for instance, when an ounce of a powder, value less than a shilling, was ordered in half drachm doses, "yet the Apothecary, by officiously dividing it into sixteen papers, would make 3s. of it, viz. 6d. a paper." Another fact is mentioned, namely, that some "persons of condition" attended the dispensaries in *formâ pauperum*, and thus imposed upon the Physicians. (In this respect human nature still displays the same peculiarities, as we hear occasionally of patients leaving their carriages round the corner, while they call for the advice of a Physician who prescribes *gratis*).

The author of the above pamphlet answers the argument "that

Physicians ought not to sell physic, but only to prescribe it," by saying, "that Apothecaries ought not to give advice but only to sell medicines."

Among the conflicting statements published on the subject of this controversy, it is not easy to arrive at the truth, but we may infer the prevalence of considerable exaggeration on both sides. It is clear, however, that the dispensaries prospered and enjoyed the patronage of the public; and we have reason to believe that the Assistants employed and instructed by the Physicians at these institutions, became dispensing Chemists on their own account; and that some of the Apothecaries, who found their craft in danger, followed the example: *from which source we may date the origin of the CHEMISTS and DRUGGISTS.*

It was not likely that the College of Physicians, or a section of the college, would for any length of time continue to conduct or superintend shops of this description. They had commenced the undertaking from the double motive of enabling the public to obtain drugs at a reasonable rate, and at the same time of gaining for themselves an advantage over the Apothecaries, who had become formidable rivals. Having succeeded in these objects, and a class of men having been raised up to perform the drudgery of the business, it might naturally be expected that they would be glad to be relieved from any further mercantile responsibility; and that the parties whom they had employed as dispensers would be no less anxious to assume the position of masters.

In the year 1723, the College of Physicians was again empowered by Act of Parliament\* to visit and examine the shops of Apothecaries, attended by the Master and Wardens of the company of Grocers, or one of them.

This Act was entitled, "*An Act for the better viewing, searching, and examining all Drugs, Medicines, Waters, Oils, Compositions, used or to be used for Medicines, in all Places where the same shall be exposed to Sale, or kept for that Purpose, within the City of London, and suburbs thereof, or within seven miles circuit of the said city.*"

Some of the circumstances relating to this Act are rather curious. James Goodwin, a chemist and apothecary, whose business had for many years been extensive, made overtures, in the year 1721, to the Royal African Company, to supply them with drugs. Two apothecaries (Markham, of Paternoster Row, and Matthews, of the Poultry), who had been in the habit of supplying the society, by the recommendation of Dr. Levit, applied to the doctor to assist them in opposing this inroad on their privilege. Dr. Levit, therefore, "undertook to destroy Goodwin, and to prove,

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\* 10 George I, c. 22.

that he was an ignorant, illiterate person; and that he neither knew a drug when he saw it, nor what drugs were put into a composition." But Goodwin being summoned before the company, so fully proved the doctor's ignorance and his own integrity, that he obtained the order for the supply of drugs. On this, Dr. Levit and the Apothecaries vowed vengeance, and excited other Physicians to unite with them in applying for an Act of Parliament, conferring upon them additional powers in searching shops. Among other Physicians, Dr. Shadwell joined with much spirit in this enterprize, having taken offence at Goodwin for applying to him for the payment of a debt due for medicines.

On the 10th of June, 1724 (after the Act had passed), Dr. Arbuthnot, Dr. Bale, and Dr. Plumtree, called at the shop of Goodwin, and having ascertained that he was not at home, they commenced the destruction of his goods, turning out one drug after another, and burning them in the street. Having found a parcel of old plasters and other things, which had returned from a voyage, in a chest sent to be re-filled, these they sealed up, and sent to the college. They then went to another shop, belonging to Goodwin, in Charles Street, Westminster, and condemned every article which came into their hands. On the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of June, paragraphs were inserted in several public papers, of which the following is a copy :

"On Wednesday last, the four *Censors* of the *College of Physicians*, and the two *Wardens* of the *Apothecaries' Company*, visited several *Chymists*, *Druggists*, and *Apothecaries' shops*, pursuant to the authority granted them by a late Act of Parliament, and we hear they burnt several drugs and other things in the *Medicinal Faculty*, before the doors of Mr. Goodwin, chymist, facing the *Haymarket*, the corner of *Pall Mall*," &c.

It is stated as a remarkable circumstance, that Goodwin was the only person whose drugs were condemned on this occasion, although he, being in a large way of business, was in the habit of supplying many other Druggists and Apothecaries with a great proportion of their stock: in some articles he had introduced considerable improvements, which gave him the advantage of a very extensive trade. Goodwin being summoned before the president and censors of the college, challenged all present to prove any of his drugs faulty, and offered to compound on the spot any preparation, to compare with those which had been condemned. But he was ordered to leave the room, and on being recalled was told that all the articles were pronounced bad. Having collected the evidence of his servants, who had assisted in compounding the medicines, he appealed again to the censors, and called on Dr. Arbuthnot, who assured him that his drugs should not again be burnt before his house; but two days afterwards, when he was out on business, the censors came before his

door with a coach load of faggots, made a great fire, and burnt the goods, to the great terror of Mrs. Goodwin, who happened to be at home. This event was also published in the papers.

In the year 1727, a bill was introduced, entitled "An Act\* for continuing the Laws therein mentioned, relating to Copper Bars exported, and for better preventing Frauds committed by Bankrupts, and for searching Drugs and Compositions for Medicines." The Apothecaries petitioned the House of Commons against this Act, and were heard by their counsel, Mr. Fitzakerly and Mr. Lingard; who urged, with much earnestness, the objections against the bill. But when the Apothecaries were called upon to state, whether any of them had suffered any of those hardships which had been mentioned, they remained silent, on which Goodwin came forward and stated his case. This annoyed the Apothecaries, because Goodwin was not a member of their company, on which account they had not called him as a witness, and were unwilling to be under any obligation to him. Dr. Friend and Dr. Shadwell spoke in prejudice of Goodwin, and would not allow him to reply; but Mr. Hungerford pleaded in his behalf. It was determined by the Committee, that the Act should continue in force three years.

Goodwin being thus foiled, petitioned the House of Lords against the bill for continuing an Act entitled "An Act for the better viewing, searching, and examining all Drugs," &c., and was heard before the Committee on the 13th of May; but, notwithstanding the case which he made out, he could not succeed in gaining his point, and the bill was passed. It is said, however, that he gained £600 damages for the injury he had sustained.

The author of a pamphlet, entitled "Reasons against the Bill for viewing, searching, and examining all Drugs, Medicines," &c. (1731), gives the following anecdote:

"I hear there is three or four grocers that have erected in Old Fish Street a gew-gaw elaboratory, and fitted up a whimsical shop, without any titles to their pots, on purpose, as 'tis supposed, to elude the Physicians' inquisition; by which means they propose to serve them, as some of the Faculty was served in a search, who when they came into an Apothecary's shop in the skirts of the city, to examine his medicines, &c., saw a shop-pot standing on the counter, entitled *Ungt. Album*; but, by accident or on purpose, I can't say which, the Apothecary had put some *Album Græcum* in it. The gentlemen got about the pot, and were viewing it; each gave his opinion: one said it was hard, another said it did not smell enough of the camphir, a third said it ought to be softened or malax'd with some oil; but the fourth, in a passion, was for throwing it out of doors as a medicine corrupt and decayed, and not fitted for the use of man's body. The boy at this while hearing their learned arguments, smiled, but said nothing until they were for throwing it away: then he cried 'Pray, gentlemen, don't throw it away,

'tis a very good medicine; I was forced to go as far as Hampstead to procure the chief ingredient of it.' 'What is it, then?' said one of the learned. 'Why, gentlemen,' says the boy, 'tis white dogs' —; I think you call it *Album Græcum*.—And what doth he do with this *Album Græcum*?' 'Sir,' says the boy, 'he mixeth it with honey, and he gives it his patients, and cures them of their sore throats.'"

In the *Pharmacopœia* of 1721, many of the ridiculous remedies formerly in use were omitted; yet, this edition contains among the *Materia Medica*, a considerable number of substances which derived their reputation from superstition or prejudice, as, for instance, bees, earthworms, millepedes, vipers, *album græcum*, bezoar, calculi from the human bladder and from ox-galls, spiders' webs, *usnea cranii humani*, *cranium hominis*, *stercus columbarum*, &c. &c.

Many of the formulæ in this work appear to be constructed on the principle of a galvanic battery, as if the intensity of the effect had depended on the number of the ingredients. One formula, although not so complicated as some others, will serve to illustrate the state of Pharmacy at that period. *PULVIS AD GUTTETAM*.

*R* Rad. *Fraxinellæ*, *Visci Quercus*, *Contrayervæ*, *Serpentariæ Virginianæ*, *Pæoniæ maris*, *Seminis Pæoniæ maris*, *Cornu Cervi calcinati*, *Ungulæ Alcis*, ana drachmas duas; Rad. *Valerianæ Silvestris*, unciâ; *Carallii rubri*, *Cranii humani*, ana drachma tres; *Lapidis Hyacinthi*, drachmam unam; *Bezoardice occidentalis*, drachmam unam, et semis, *orientalis scrupulum*. *M. fiat pulvis: cui addi possunt Moschi grana quinque Foliorum auri N° triginta.*

It was generally supposed by our ancestors that it was necessary to correct and modify the action of all medicines, by adding others of an opposite nature, and remedies were often classified as hot and cold remedies, a certain proportion of each class being combined, according to the preponderance on one side or the other, which was desired. In preparing chemical medicines, the process was frequently repeated; in some cases above twenty times, under the idea that the efficacy was thus increased or concentrated. *MERCURIUS DULCIS SUBLIMATUS*, was directed to be sublimed at least three times; if sublimed four or five times or oftener, it was called *CALOMEL*, but not otherwise.

Vessels were also sometimes used for distillation which were so constructed that the contents of the receiver might easily be thrown back into the retort, without breaking the connexion, by which means the process might be continued and repeated *ad infinitum*.

A very slight inspection of the *Pharmacopœia* of 1746, is sufficient to show, that it is, in every respect, a great improvement upon that which preceded it in 1721. This amelioration is, perhaps, in hardly any respect more evident than in the number and nature of the syrups—they are reduced from forty to

twenty-one, and the formulæ are much more simple; compare, for example, the Syrupus de Althæa of the older Pharmacopœia, and the Syrupus ex Althæa of the more recent one; the former contains about twenty ingredients, while the latter is prepared simply from the root of the plant, with the requisite proportions of sugar and water. The plasters are again reduced from about twenty-six to fourteen. Among those which are omitted, are the Emplastrum de Betonicâ, containing nearly twenty ingredients; and the Emplastrum Cæsaris, of which numerous herbs form also a part, and which contain about the same number of ingredients. It must, however, detract from the praise which might otherwise be fairly bestowed on this work, that Mithridatum, with its forty ingredients, and Theriaca Andromachi, with about sixty, were suffered to remain. The ointments, are, however, reduced from about forty to half that number, and their formulæ are greatly simplified and improved. Among the chemical preparations of the metals, the progress of science is, in many cases, conspicuous; for example, under the head of SAL SEU VITRIOLUM MARTIS, in the Pharmacopœia of 1721, we find the following directions for preparing sulphate of iron :

Fit ex Spiritus Vini optimi, uncis quator.

Olei Vitrioli, uncis duabus.

Serratis simul in vase ferreo ut Chrystalli formentur.

In the Pharmacopœia of 1746, this salt, under the name of Sal Martis, is prepared by dissolving iron filings in dilute sulphuric acid, filtering the solution after having for some time kept it warm, and then allowing crystals to form.

In the preparations of Mercury, advantageous changes are also made, both in the formulæ and nomenclature.

In no part of the more recent work is the improvement greater than in the expulsion of numerous useless articles from the Materia Medica. The entire work was carefully edited, and assumes a much more scientific form than any of its predecessors.

The Corporation of Apothecaries obtained a charter, in the year 1748, empowering it to license Apothecaries to sell medicines in London, or within seven miles; and also to search the shops within that district. This occasioned a fresh altercation, and many pamphlets and books were published on both sides. One of these, entitled *Frauds Detected*, supposed to have been written at the instigation of the Apothecaries Company, advocates the necessity of a strict adherence to the Pharmacopœia of the College, and the importance of good quality in the articles employed. It contains a summary of the various adulterations which were said to prevail at that time, and concludes with a series of arguments in favour of a frequent and effectual visitation



of shops, which, it is said, would be an advantage to the honest and a check on the fraudulent. Among many other abuses which are enumerated, it is said, that few foreign drugs are brought into this country free from impurities, being generally mixed with sticks, stones, straws, dirt, &c., and that it is a not unfrequent practice to

“Beat them into the most capital compositions (such as Mithridate, Venice treacle, Diascordium, &c.), with the other ingredients unpicked, and with all their dross about them. Nay, what is worse, sometimes to beat in nothing but the dross left after straining, just to flavour the medicine with the little remains of the true drug sticking to it.”

It was also said, that “in the tincture of rhubarb, and in all other compositions in which this drug has a place, it was too frequent a practice to pick out from the heap all the bad rhubarb and hide it in them;” that “sal prunel” was sometimes adulterated with “alom;” that in diacodium, three-fourths of the poppy-heads were often omitted; that, in lapis contrayervæ, the pearls were omitted, and oyster-shell powder substituted; that in Gascon’s powder, the greenish colour of the bezoar stone was imitated by a little Spanish-juice and ox-gall; that in elixir proprietatis, and other preparations containing saffron, two-thirds of the quantity was omitted, when the price of saffron was high: that in mithridate, nearly all the expensive ingredients were left out, &c. &c.

Several answers to this publication appeared, among which is one entitled “*An Enquiry into the designs of the late PETITION presented to Parliament by the Company of Apothecaries, whereby the Apothecaries’ monstrous profits are exposed, and compared with those of the Chemist, with respect to practice and retail, to which is annexed a Scheme to prevent the empirical Apothecary from practising; and the Chemist from preparing and vending sophisticated Medicines.*” The author of this pamphlet acknowledges the importance of a strict adherence to the formulæ of the Pharmacopœia, but asserts, that even the Apothecaries’ Company do not set the example, and denies the propriety of their being empowered to search shops. A case is mentioned in which the inspectors appointed by the company had been in the habit of annually visiting an Apothecary, and extorting from him six shillings each time as their perquisite, which he at length began to resist. On one occasion he was not at home when they called, and on examining his mithridate, they all condemned it as a medicine not fit to be used. At this moment the Apothecary returned, and on being told that his mithridate was bad, and asked for the customary fine, he said, “Nay, now I am convinced what a nest of villains I have to deal with, who being nettled at my refusing their usual imposition, begin to show their knavish principles, by condemning medicines of their own compounding.”

He then produced the invoice from his file, and called the man as a witness who brought the mithridate from the Hall.

Having endeavoured to show, by this and other instances, that the inspectors of the company were not competent judges, the author observes,

"And if this be true, how can you expect Apothecaries in general to compound medicines justly, when they have so bad an example? \* \* \*

"It is generally allowed that one half, if not three out of four of those who style themselves Apothecaries, in and about London, some too in very reputable practice, are so very illiterate, that they understand no more of compounding and preparing capital medicines than they do of the philosopher's stone. \* \* \* Nay, there is not one in ten who perfectly understands the derivation and meaning of his technical terms, or can read the physician's bill truly, in proper Latin, nor perhaps understands it any better abbreviated: so that these persons are under the greatest obligations to Dr. Femberton for translating the late Dispensatory into English."

The author also observes,

"It has been often remarked, that there are not upwards of twenty regular Chemists in London, and yet there are hundreds who style themselves so. \* \* \* To a man who is qualified, the method of compounding *Galenical* medicines will very naturally occur, though in this there is more honesty than knowledge required; but it must be allowed, that no man knows how to mix and proportion ingredients of various qualities so well as he who is acquainted with Chemical principles."

One of the objects of the Apothecaries' Petition alluded to in this pamphlet, was to obtain an Act of Parliament which would give that body the power of searching the shops of *Chemists*, as well as Apothecaries. This privilege was not granted, and the author of the pamphlet endeavours to prove that the Chemist who prepares medicines is a more competent judge of their quality than the Apothecary who procures them ready made. He admits that there are many among the Chemists, Druggists, and Apothecaries, who are unqualified and dishonest, and he proposes as a remedy, the appointment of a committee, consisting of an equal number of Physicians, Druggists and Chemists, to be annually chosen by the College of Physicians, as inspectors of shops.

In another answer to *Frauds Detected*, entitled *The Apothecary Displayed*, the several charges of adulteration are answered *seriatim*. In reference to the statement that the Druggists mix into their compositions the impure drugs as they receive them from abroad, &c., it is said,

"It is almost impossible for men to be more diligent and careful, or to take more pains than they do; how often may you see them with a *Seron of Bark*, first sifting away the dust, then separating the small sort, dividing the large and woody from the more delicate and curious quill; while they are thus cleansing, sorting, and dividing their drugs, one or other of the most eminent Apothecaries alights from his chariot at the door, and buys up all the raspings of the rhubarb, the siftings of the bark, and the sweepings of the shop. Does he buy it to burn, think you, or conscientiously to destroy it for the good of mankind? (as they would make you believe in

their petition). No, he says he only wants it for powder, or it will do well enough for the tincture or the syrup, or if perchance he purchases four ounces of the better sort only to keep in a glass and show his customers, has he not four pounds of the worst sort with it? \* \* \* If the Druggist beats in the dross with the drug, where has he the dross to beat in by itself? You know the Apothecary bought that, and could he be supposed to beat in the dross by itself, what the Devil becomes of the drug?"

This is the kind of argument which abounds in the works written at the period now under consideration, and so many ludicrous instances of ignorance and fraud are enumerated by all parties, each against the other, that a very elaborate and amusing compilation might be made from these curious documents. It is however sufficient for our present purpose to introduce a few quotations as examples.

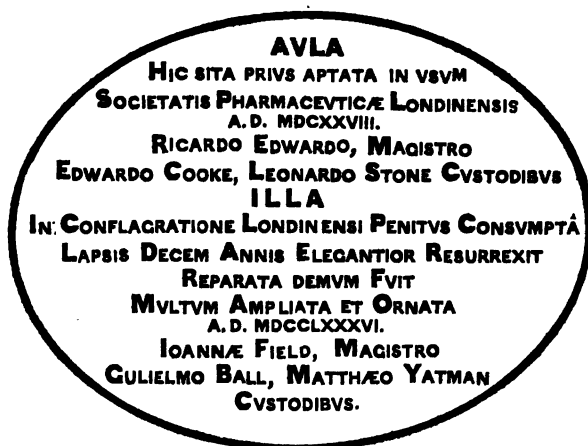
In a pamphlet, entitled "*THE APOTHECARIES' MIRROR, or the present State of Pharmacy exploded* (1790)," the incompetence of many Apothecaries who had not passed the regular examination is adverted to, and various instances are cited in corroboration; from this it appears, that the law respecting the licensing of Apothecaries was not generally enforced. The author also exposes the manœuvres commonly practised between Physicians and Apothecaries—the Physicians prescribing a vast quantity of medicines for the benefit of the Apothecary; and the Apothecary in return only recommending such Physicians as were in the habit of "writing well," or, in other words, "multiplying their nauseous superfluities." Arguments are also brought forth to prove that the Apothecary ought not to practise medicine. It is said that

"The proper business of an Apothecary is to compound certain drugs, according to Physicians or Surgeons' prescriptions. It may happen that some of these articles require pulverizing; but it is presumed, that beating at a mortar does not necessarily make a man learned. \* \* \* All the advantages they presume upon beyond these are only seeing eminent practitioners' prescriptions and their patients. \* \* \* The compounding of medicines prescribed, and knowing *why* they are prescribed, are two different things: one is an ordinary habitual thing, the other depends upon the circumstances of the case, and cannot possibly be judged of unless by one who understands the natural history of the human body, and is acquainted with the mechanism and operations of nature. These are heights of knowledge at which few Apothecaries arrive."

The first Edinburgh Pharmacopœia was published in 1699, and new editions appeared in 1722, 1736, and 1744. Four years afterwards, Dr. Lewis published an English translation, under the title of "*The New Dispensatory*." This work contained much additional information, and was attended with great success. Dr. Lewis published several editions, and was succeeded by Dr. Webster and Dr. Duncan, and, lastly, by Dr. Duncan, jun., who published eight editions in the course of twelve years. Dr. James's "*Pharmacopœia Universalis, or New Universal English Dispensatory*," was published in 1747.

Subsequent editions or republications of the Edinburgh Pharmacopœia appeared in 1756, 1774, 1783, 1792, 1803, 1804, 1806, 1813, 1817, 1839, 1841. It was invariably published in Latin until 1839, when the English language was adopted by the Edinburgh college.

The Apothecaries' Hall was partially destroyed at the fire of London, and in the year 1786 it was rebuilt on a more extensive scale, and improved in every respect. This event is commemorated in an inscription on the walls of the present establishment, which is as follows :



The Apothecaries' Hall continued to compete successfully with the druggists and merchants in the supply of medicines to the navy, and the East India Company, as well as in other business, both wholesale and retail. This gave rise occasionally to disputes and controversies, and several pamphlets, published about this time, contain reciprocal charges made by the Druggists and Apothecaries against each other of furnishing adulterated articles.

It may be supposed that these charges were not altogether without foundation, although it appears by the result, that the Apothecaries had the advantage, as they succeeded in monopolizing a large share of the export business.

The origin of the BOTANIC GARDEN AT CHELSEA, belonging to the Society of Apothecaries, is involved in some obscurity; but it is supposed to have been founded prior to the year 1673. The first mention of it in the records of the society is contained in a minute (dated June 21st, 1674), in which it was resolved to build a wall round the garden, which was to be done by subscription, provided the Court of Assistants would agree to pay two pounds

for each of the herborizings or botanical walks. These walks were instituted in the year 1633, at which period one took place annually; but at the time the above agreement was entered into, the number had been increased to six. The proprietors of the laboratory stock also gave fifty pounds towards the expense of the wall; in consideration of which they were allowed a piece of ground in the garden for herbs.

In the year 1679, a Committee of Management was appointed; consisting of twenty-one Assistants, thirty Liverymen, and twenty of the Yeomanry. In the following year a greenhouse was built, at an expense of £138. Mr. Evelyn, in his diary, mentions a visit which he paid to the "Apothecaries' Garden of Simples" (August 7th, 1685), where he saw among other rare plants, "the tree bearing the Jesuit's bark, which had done such wonders in quartan agues." He also notices the subterraneous heat employed in the greenhouse.

The propriety of discontinuing the garden was discussed in the year 1693, from which it would appear, that it was not in a flourishing condition. The decision, however, was in its favour; and in 1697, Lord Cheyne granted a new lease for sixty years. In 1708, it was found necessary to raise additional funds, and ninety persons joined in a subscription. In 1714, Sir Hans Sloane became connected with the institution, having purchased the manor of Lord Cheyne, in 1712; and in 1722, he granted a lease to the Master, Wardens, and Society of Apothecaries on certain conditions, of which the following is the substance: The garden, comprising three acres, one rood, and thirty-five perches, together with the greenhouse and other erections thereon, was to be held by the parties aforesaid for ever, at a yearly rent of five pounds, payable to Sir Hans Sloane, his heirs and assigns, provided the society presented annually to the President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Society of London, fifty specimens of distinct plants, until the collection amounted to 2000; and provided also, that the garden was appropriated to the purpose of cultivating plants, instructing students, and advancing science. In the event of any of these conditions being violated, or dwellings being erected on the ground, the lease was to be forfeited.

In 1743 an order was issued, that no person should be allowed to gather specimens without the permission of the director or gardener; and that none but members might walk in the garden without being attended by the gardener. In 1747, Sir Hans Sloane presented £100 towards the repairs of the greenhouse, and in 1748 he gave £150 to aid in maintaining the garden. Other individuals gave liberal donations at various times, without which the garden could not have been maintained. Mr. Miller, one of the chief gardeners, was elected to that office in 1722, and retained it forty-eight years. He was buried at Chelsea,

and some years afterwards a cenotaph was erected to his memory by the Members of the Linnean and Horticultural Societies. Further particulars respecting Mr. Miller and other gardeners connected with the Institution, may be found in a work entitled *MEMOIRS, Historical and Illustrative, of the BOTANIC GARDEN AT CHELSEA, belonging to the SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES, London\**, by those who can find the work, which is very scarce. A statue of Sir Hans Sloane was placed in the garden in 1751. In 1771, an embankment was built to recover portions of the ground which had been washed away by the river.

The botanical walks continue to be kept up. Five of them are open to the apprentices of every member of the Society; and one, which is called the general herborizing, is confined to members. As the excursions generally occupy the whole of the day, refreshments are provided for the students, who derive considerable benefit from this social and practical method of studying botany.

It was intended by the Charter of 1748, not only to restrain Druggists from practising Pharmacy, being considered unqualified, but also to prohibit Physicians and Surgeons from selling or preparing the medicines which they prescribed. But, notwithstanding this monopoly in favour of the Apothecaries, they found it impossible to secure to themselves those exclusive privileges provided in the act: the law was constantly evaded, and in the year 1793 they instituted an inquiry into the defects and privations which existed among them, and which arose, as they stated, from two grand causes:†—

“First, The encroachment which Chemists and Druggists have, of late years, made on the profession of the Apothecary, by vending pharmacæutic preparations, and compounding the prescriptions of Physicians.

“Secondly, The want of a competent jurisdiction in the profession itself; to regulate its practice, and to restrain ignorant and unqualified persons from practising at all.”

In the spring of this year (1793) several respectable Apothecaries formed themselves into a society for the purpose of investigating the sources of the existing evils; and, by means of an extensive correspondence, they collected “a volume of facts demonstrative of the injury resulting to society at large, as well as to the profession in particular, from the toleration of these abuses.”

On the 17th of June, 1794, a general meeting of the Apothecaries of this kingdom was held at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, at which about 200 attended.

The object of the meeting was stated by Mr. Chamberlaine, and it was urged in the report,

\* Printed by R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, 1820.

† See Good's “History of Medicine.”

"That this unjust and innovating usurpation of the Druggists, together with the intrusion of uneducated and unskilful persons into professional practice, called loudly for some speedy and effective act, which should at once destroy the obtrusions complained of, and restore credit and respectability to the profession."

"If we regard personal views, it was stated to be a fact, the proof of which was in the tables of calculation then present, that were the aggregate sums obtained by this infringement of the Druggists, and divided among the Druggists of this metropolis (a body of men unknown to the world till about the end of the last century, unauthorized by any public charter, and almost undefined by any public act), were these sums to be equally divided, as they ought to be divided, amongst the Apothecaries of the metropolis, every one would have an addition of nearly £200 a year to his present income. But this evil, it appeared, was not confined to the capital; it was declared to be a morbid infection—that it began at the capital as a central point, but diffused its deadly breath from thence to all the larger cities and towns throughout the kingdom. Nor stopped the contagion here. From the larger cities and towns it was beheld propagating itself to smaller cities and towns, till at length, so general was the disease, there was scarcely to be found a village or a hamlet without a village or a hamlet Druggist. If the sale of medicines and the giving of advice was not here sufficient to support the vender, he added to his own occupation the sale of mops, brooms, bacon, butter, and a thousand such articles besides."

The hardships endured by the Apothecaries having been described at some length, the report proceeds to discuss the ignorance and inefficiency of the Druggists, some of whom are said to have made fatal mistakes, and

"From want of classical education, and an incapacity of translating the directions appended to their prescriptions, have been under the necessity of disturbing Apothecaries in the night to translate for them; others who, from boldly adventuring to interpret, have given wrong directions, or who, not daring to interpret, have dispensed their medicines without any directions at all."

"The composition of prescriptions, and the vending of pharmaceutic preparations by Druggists, comprise, then, a national evil of no small magnitude. The materials they make use of must, in general, be mere offals, and the refuse of better drugs; and from want of classical knowledge, perpetual errors and negligences are discovered in their combination. The credit of the Physician is endangered, and the patient perhaps is destroyed. But if this be a source of national abuse and deceit, what infinite injury must result from the still bolder practice such men often allow themselves, of adding pretended medical advice to erroneous medical compositions? Men who have never enjoyed any other medical education than what their own counters have afforded; and who can know nothing of the powers of diseases, or of the powers of medicines to remove those diseases when present? To attempt to demonstrate this to be a public evil, and one that calls loudly for redress, is altogether to lose time: it is to light up the sun at noonday with a candle."

In order to put an end to these abuses, it was proposed to form a general Association of the Apothecaries of Great Britain, who should

"Engage to deal with such Druggists only as would immediately consent to relinquish the composition of all medical prescriptions—to retain to themselves their wholesale occupation alone—and to receive no Apprentices, and employ no Assistants, who had not had a classical education."

It was resolved also to form a general Committee, to act in the

name of the whole, and to endeavour to obtain the necessary reformation by an application to Parliament.

Alluding to the chances of success, Mr. John Mason Good, whose speech is contained in the report, proceeds to state :

"As to opposition, we had no reason to expect it, but from the Druggists themselves. Nor were all the Druggists inimical to medical reform—many had already expressed their good wishes towards it, and some had even contributed pecuniary assistance to carry it into execution. But if the Druggists are to oppose us, who are to oppose the Druggists? Druggists, like all others engaged in commercial transactions, are dependent men. On whom are Druggists dependent? On Apothecaries, on ourselves. Let us then make that use of this dependence which it behoves us to make. Let us universally and individually write to every Druggist with whom we traffic, and inform him that if he values the connexion between us, we insist upon it, on the continuance of that connexion, that he withhold from us all personal opposition whatsoever. Let us publish to all Druggists, that if, deaf to their own interests as well as ours, they should nevertheless persist in opposing us: should they frustrate our intentions, and wrench, if it were possible, the very statute from our hands after we had obtained it, and tear it into a thousand tatters, we have still left the former resource of associating ourselves against such opponents, we have still left the power of creating one common fund, of establishing one general magazine, of supplying ourselves from such magazine, and thus by a single act, of ruining their whole trade, and destroying their existence as a commercial community.

It was then proposed,

"That the persons present should form themselves into a Society, under the title of THE GENERAL PHARMACEUTICAL ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN, and that all other regularly educated practitioners throughout the kingdom be invited to associate in the common cause."

A Committee of twenty members was elected; and it was resolved,

"That it have regular meetings once a month, or as much oftener as may be deemed convenient, at the BUFFALO TAVERN, BLOOMSBURY SQUARE (the first meeting to be held on the 28th day of the present month, July); that it be open to the admission of every member of the Association, and be at liberty to summon general meetings, and to report progress whenever it may seem expedient to do so."

A subscription of one guinea from each member was collected.

The Committee then undertook, by means of a systematic and universal correspondence, to communicate with every regularly educated practitioner in Pharmacy throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of urging them to join the Association, and also with a view to collect a further supply of evidence. It was found necessary to appoint special committees, and to meet regularly twice every month at the Buffalo Tavern. Mr. Good states in his report—

"The extent of their correspondence is only bounded by the extent of the kingdom; and the materials collected most voluminous and immense. The ardour evinced by practitioners, in every part of the country, to forward the common cause, is uniform and universal; and scarcely a post arrived in London for the first two months after the establishment of the Association, without new statements, from personal knowledge, of increasing



evils accruing from the toleration of the abuses. There is not perhaps a single Druggist in the whole kingdom who compounds his different preparations in all respects consistently with the College Dispensatory; but the Druggists at Manchester appear to excel all others in such nefarious ingenuity, and to extend their endeavours to save trouble and expense to articles in which it could be scarcely imagined such endeavours were necessary.

"A correspondent at Croydon mentions his having been applied to by the foreman of a Druggist for an explanation of the words '*cucurbita cruenta*,' which he had in vain sought for amongst the different preparations in his dispensatory; and at last had been happy enough to translate them '*an electrical shock*.'"

"A Druggist of similar penetration is reported, in a letter from Worcester, to exist in that city, who took infinite pains to obtain, by sending to other shops, a tincture of the name of '*ejusdem*.'"

In order to obtain evidence of the general prevalence of similar misdemeanors, a number of specimens of drugs and preparations were obtained at different shops in London, and submitted to a special Committee for examination. The Committee state as the result—

"That in the far greater number of instances, there were most evidently spurious or defective drugs, and erroneous composition. That the most expensive medicines were all of them, without any exception, adulterated;" "such was, the case, particularly, with Aleppo scammony, with saffron, and Russian castor."—"Powder of gum-arabic was generally very indifferent; and, in one instance, when formed into a mucilage, contained no gluten\* whatever, was extremely dirty and extremely opaque."—"The preparations from extemporaneous prescriptions scarcely bore any resemblance to what was expected, had they been compounded aright; and no two from the same prescription were similar."—"The directions were, in many cases, misconceived and improperly translated; in others, not more than half translated; and in one instance, particularly, the very reverse of what was written."

Among other circumstances investigated by this energetic association, the increase in the number of Druggists claimed particular attention; and from the statistical information thus obtained, it appears, that in some places the number had increased fourfold in the space of ten or twelve years. A correspondent, who related the opening of three new shops in one town within twelve months, observes,

"But Pharmacy alone comprises too small a field for these men of letters and ambition—they prescribe, whenever applied to, though totally ignorant of medical science, and even pretend to reduce fractures."

The Committee, alluding to this circumstance, remark,

"But Druggists are not the only persons who are thus adventurous. In many places the grocers of the town take upon themselves this very benevolent office, or at least a part of it. In the small town of Uckfield there are not less than three of this description, who prescribe as well as vend medicines, applying for information to the Druggists with whom they deal; who in consequence hereof send them down advice just equal to their medicines, and present them with tables of different doses."

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\* "No gluten"!!

### 32 FAILURE OF THE PHARMACEUTICAL ASSOCIATION OF 1794.

The Committee spared no exertions in collecting from every quarter, cases of malpractice and misadventure, a few specimens of which serve to enliven their report, adding that

"The secretary would satisfy the curiosity of any person who wished for farther specimens of the same destructive conduct, at any time, when properly applied to, and from proper motives."

Having collected a sufficient mass of evidence, the Committee presented addresses to the College of Physicians, the Corporation of Surgeons, and the Society of Apothecaries; and on the sixth of February, 1795, a petition was presented to Parliament on behalf of the Association, by Sir William Dolben. It was found necessary, however, to postpone the completion of these measures until the following session, and in the meantime a full report of proceedings was circulated to all the members, calling upon them to second these efforts by means of addresses, in which the following principles were to be continually adverted to:

"*First*, That the liberty to vend pharmaceutical preparations, compound Physicians' prescriptions, &c. &c., should appertain to the Apothecary alone. *Secondly*, That no young men be taken as Apprentices, who have not had an approved education. *Thirdly*, That none be Assistants without having been examined as to their competency for pharmaceutical compositions, &c. &c. *Fourthly*, That none be at liberty to settle until examined; nor any person entitled to an examination until he shall have faithfully served an apprenticeship of five years at least. *Fifthly*, That to promote these purposes, a competent court be established—to consist of a certain number of members, who shall have full power to make such by-laws and regulations, as may be thought most conducive to the welfare both of the public and the profession."

From the above brief account of the establishment of the Pharmaceutical Association of 1794, it will be seen that, at this period, the Chemists and Druggists were entering upon that position which they now occupy, as dispensers of medicine.

The result of these exertions, however, was not so successful as was anticipated, and the Pharmaceutical Association of 1794 was broken up within a short time of its formation, without having effected the extinction, or subjugation, of that class against which its efforts were directed. The proceedings of the Association are recorded by Mason Good, who was a leading member, and from whose work the above outline is taken; the absence of a similar record of particulars on the other side forms a gap in our history. It is probable that this violent attack, which was designed as a death-blow to the rising class of pharmacists, had the opposite effect, by obliging them in some degree to reform the system of conducting their business, and to unite among themselves for the protection of their interests.

In the year 1802 the Apothecaries and Chemists were brought together and induced to coalesce for the purpose of protecting their mutual interests against the injurious operation of the Medicine Act, passed on the 3d of June in that year. This Act had reference to the duties, stamps, and licences which had formerly been confined to private nostrums and patent "specifics;" but which, by the new measure, involved, more or less, the sale of many common remedies and articles in daily use, such, for instance, as blistering ointment, nitre drops, lozenges, tooth powders, Indian arrowroot, salve for ulcerations of the legs, Huxham's tincture of bark, Turkey rhubarb, laxative pills, &c. &c. An Association having been formed, and a Committee appointed, a petition was prepared entitled "A Petition of Apothecaries, Chemists, and Druggists," which petition was addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, signed by Fenwick Bulmer, Strand; John Pugh, Gracechurch Street; Edward Complin, Bishopsgate Street; William Chamberlain, Aylesbury Street; and John Hingeston, Cheapside. During the time that the Committee were engaged in carrying their object into effect, they published, in one of their reports, a caution to all parties concerned, which will serve to point out the predicament the trade was in, and the liabilities to which all vendors of medicines were exposed. It is as follows:

The Committee also think it would be the means of preventing trouble, if something like the following cautions were adopted, in all such cases where it will apply.

*Viz.* If an informer, or any other person, should inquire for healing salve for scalds or burns, to answer that no salve is known by that name, yet they may have for that purpose white unguentum, Turner's cerate, or spermaceti ointment, &c., without a stamp. If asked for nitre drops, not to sell anything by that name, but to offer dulcified spirits of nitre. Tincture of Turkey Rhubarb, a thing not known in the shops, yet common tincture of rhubarb may be sold without restriction. If castor oil medicine should be sought for, sell simply castor oil: in this manner stamps will not be necessary.

The Committee have been informed, from high authority, that informations will not be encouraged upon articles that have been long and generally known, although they may come nearly within the letter of the Act; yet they cannot help feeling the most lively indignation, when they reflect that men so truly respectable as the Apothecaries, Druggists, and Chemists undoubtedly are, should, by any circumstances in the common practice of their profession, be under the necessity of adopting any subterfuge to avoid being plundered of their property by the innumerable host of informers which this Act will certainly engender and let loose upon them, both in town and country, after the first of September.

EDWARD DENTON, *Secretary.*

The final report of the Committee was published in the year 1803, and although they were not successful in obtaining a total repeal of the Act, they secured the modification of it in such a

manner as to remove the chief sources of inconvenience and oppression.

The Pharmacopœia of 1809, which was translated by Dr. Powell, was prepared by a Committee of the Fellows of the College in conjunction with a Committee of the Apothecaries' Company, in whose laboratory such experiments were made on the various processes as appeared necessary. Some additions were made from the Pharmacopœias of Edinburgh and Dublin, and a "Specimen Pharmacopœiæ" was sent by the College of Physicians to those persons whom they thought likely to afford assistance or information. Seventy new preparations were introduced, among which were: Acetum colchici, confectio amygdalarum, decoctum aloës comp., and five other decoctions; extractum aloës purificatum, belladonnæ, hyoscyami, sarsaparillæ, and six other extracts; infusum anthemidis, aurantii, digitalis, and twelve other infusions; mistura ferri comp., potassæ carbonas, sodæ carbonas, liquor arsenicalis, &c. &c.

Notwithstanding the precautions which were taken in the compilation of this Pharmacopœia, it was found to be defective in some particulars, and the formulæ as well as the nomenclature were severely criticised by several commentators. Dr. Bostock published an "Essay on the Nomenclature of the New London Pharmacopœia," in which he showed that, while the endeavour to regulate the names of the articles in the Materia Medica by scientific principles had failed, and led to inconsistency in many cases, it had also involved the subject in unnecessary confusion, and added to the intricacy naturally belonging to it. In confirmation of this statement he quoted the following observation of Dr. Powell: "As by names substances are distinguished from each other, their essential properties ought to be brevity and dissimilarity; and if those employed be accurately defined and generally understood—if they be sanctioned by use and so distinct as not to be liable to be mistaken, and, above all, convey no false ideas of the substances they are intended to designate, such a nomenclature may be considered as perfect." Dr. Bostock advocated these sentiments, and pointed out a great variety of instances in which Dr. Powell had violated *his own* principle by the introduction of a nomenclature professedly "scientific," but which, from its inconsistency, did not deserve the name.

The most severe critique which appeared on the Pharmacopœia of 1809, was a review by Mr. Richard Phillips, which was originally published in the London Medical Review (1810), and afterwards in a separate pamphlet (1811), entitled, *An Experimental Examination of the last edition of the Pharmacopœia Londoniensis, with Remarks on Dr. Powell's Translation and*

*Annotations.* Mr. Phillips observes in his introduction that, "although individual error may be insignificant, yet when established and enforced by the authority of law, it becomes truly formidable;" and, after a few prefatory remarks, proceeds to criticise seventy-three of the preparations in the Pharmacopœia, quoting experiments in confirmation of his statements. The first sentence deserves to be quoted in italics:

*"Before I proceed to the principal object of this essay, I shall make a few observations upon the alteration of the names of measures. This was not only unnecessary, but by the mode in which it has been carried into effect, it has been productive of much ambiguity and some absurdity."*

Mr. Phillips enumerates about twenty instances in the Pharmacopœia in which the value of the term *libra* is ambiguous.

Some of the remarks of Mr. Phillips on the preparations are rather caustic, as, for instance, the following: "According to Dr. Powell's statement, protoxide and peroxide of antimony are synonymous, and ten grains may be properly exhibited; but if we combine these assertions with those of the authorities which he recommends, it appears that, whilst ten grains of the precipitated oxide are a safe dose, "two are a most violent and dangerous emetic," and sixty grains "perfectly inert;" and, consequently, that two are much more than ten, and sixty much less. Well, indeed, has Macquer observed, that some physicians have considered this preparation as occasioning "accidents so terrible, that instead of being called the Mercury of life, it ought to have been denominated the Mercury of death!"

Mr. Phillips devotes thirty pages to his observations on the preparations of antimony, and confirms his statements by a detail of a variety of experiments in which he throws some light on this intricate subject.

His remarks on the liquor arsenicalis are very severe, and not without reason, as he discovered an error which ought not to have occurred, especially in a preparation containing so powerful an ingredient as arsenic. It is singular, however, that some of the "defects" pointed out by Mr. Phillips in Dr. Powell's Pharmacopœia, are to be found in our present edition (1836), of which he is the authorized translator. For instance, in reference to the distilled waters, he states, "The addition of spirit to distilled waters is altogether useless." In the present Pharmacopœia seven ounces of spirit are ordered to two gallons of each of the distilled waters. In the extractum opii he recommends proof spirit to be employed instead of water. In the Pharmacopœia of 1836, distilled water is ordered as the menstruum without any animadversion. In the hydrargyri oxidum cinereum,

he recommends potash in preference to lime; yet in his own Pharmacopœia lime is ordered. A few other cases might be mentioned.

Although Mr. Phillips criticised without mercy the imperfections of the Pharmacopœia, he found some merits in the work, to which he gave their share of commendation; and his review was found to be so far entitled to attention, being based upon practical experience, that some of his suggestions (as well as those of some other commentators) were adopted in the next edition, which appeared in 1815. In this edition several new articles were introduced, others which had been expunged in 1809 were restored, and some of the names were changed. The work was on the whole a decided improvement on its predecessor; but it did not yet come up to Mr. Phillips's ideas of perfection, and accordingly, in the year 1816, he published some "*REMARKS ON THE EDITIO ALTERA of the PHARMACOPŒIA LONDINENSIS.*"

It happened, unfortunately for Dr. Powell, that he had omitted to give Mr. Phillips credit for those improvements which, at his suggestion, he introduced into the Pharmacopœia, and that he stated nevertheless in the preface, "I am not conscious that in any instance I have purloined the observations of others or used them without due acknowledgement." This gave Mr. Phillips a pretext for recapitulating some of his former statements, pointing out the instances in which his directions had been followed, but not acknowledged, and making a fresh attack on those errors which had not been rectified.

While it cannot be denied that there was some foundation for these criticisms, it must be admitted that Dr. Powell's Pharmacopœia met with a most unmerciful reception, and that he did not enjoy a fair share of indulgence. Dr. Powell, as a Physician, could not be expected to compete in practical experience with the manufacturing Chemists, many of whom devoted their whole lives to a small section merely of the art of pharmacy, and who were not likely to reveal the secrets by which they sustained their reputation, for the benefit of a work in which they were not interested and for which they would gain no credit. Many processes might appear to answer the purpose when conducted on a small scale, by way of experiment, and yet they might not be adapted to the manufacture of the articles in quantity; and this, in fact, was found to be the case in several instances. On the whole, the work appeared in its most unfavourable aspect, when seen through the medium of the searching and practical satire of Mr. Phillips.

The improvement which was taking place among the Apothecaries, in consequence of the increased attention which they devoted to medical and surgical practice, tended materially to

strengthen the position of the Druggists as dispensers of prescriptions: this office, being *comparatively* neglected by the one class, naturally fell more and more into the hands of the other. But the Apothecaries, while they were losing ground in the "trading" department of their profession, possessed no other legitimate means of obtaining remuneration, the amount of their receipts being chiefly regulated by the quantity of medicine they supplied to their patients. To use the words of Dr. Burrows, "The practising Apothecaries justly complained that the dispensing Chemists and Druggists had greatly deteriorated the profits of their business; but the practice had existed so long, that it *had acquired from custom the force of law*, and it was impossible by sudden or violent means to suppress it. It had indeed become difficult to define who was, or who was not, an Apothecary. \* \* \*" In addition to the falling off in their dispensing business, and the inroads made upon the profession by irregular and uneducated practitioners of every description, the Apothecaries sustained another grievance, namely, an increase in the taxes on drugs and other necessary commodities, which pressed with peculiar severity upon them. The exorbitant duty on glass, which was imposed by Government in the year 1812, brought their misfortunes to a climax, and occasioned a public meeting of their body, which was convened on the 3d of July of that year, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, by Mr. Burrows,\* Mr. Cates, and Mr. Wells.

Several meetings had been held on the subject of the duty on glass, to very little purpose, when Mr. A. T. Thomson having accidentally attended one of them, diverted the attention of the Meeting from the subject of glass, which he considered derogatory to the profession, to the more important matter of improving the condition of that branch of it, in a professional point of view.

An Association was formed, of which Mr. Burrows was appointed chairman, and Mr. Ward secretary. Mr. Kerrison†, who had declined taking a share in the proceedings respecting the duty on glass, became an active member of the Committee, when a more enlarged scheme was undertaken, and Mr. Thomson‡, Mr. Goud§, and Mr. Upton, as well as other influential practitioners, joined with great spirit in the enterprise.

The exertions of the Association were directed to the framing of a bill to be brought into Parliament, the objects of which were:

1. To constitute a fourth Medical body which should be em-

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\* Now Dr. George Mann Burrows.  
 † Now Dr. Kerrison.  
 ‡ Now Dr. A. T. Thomson.  
 § Afterwards Dr. Goud.

powered to examine Apothecaries, Surgeon Apothecaries, Accoucheurs, Midwives, Dispensing Chemists, and Assistants; to prohibit the practice of Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, or Pharmacy, by uneducated persons; and to vest in the new body the prerogative of granting licences to such persons as they should find on examination to be competent, which licences should be annually renewed on payment of a fee, the examiners possessing the powers of withholding them from persons whose conduct had been immoral or discreditable.

To introduce certain regulations respecting apprentices, and to found a school\* for the education of pupils in medicine, surgery, pharmacy, &c.

It was the original intention of the Association to apply to Parliament through the medium, or with the concurrence, of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and the Society of Apothecaries, and letters were written to these bodies representing the urgent necessity for some measure of reform, and respectfully requesting their co-operation and support.

The COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS declined taking any share in the matter, stating, that they "could not give any advice or assistance on the occasion." The COLLEGE OF SURGEONS concluded their reply with these words, "The Court of Assistants does not intend to interfere with the subject of such letter." The SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES, after having consulted the College of Physicians, stated, that "They could not, *as a body*†, concur with the Committee in the intended application to Parliament." The *Associated Apothecaries*, therefore, being left to their own resources, prepared a bill, which was introduced to the House by Messrs. Wilberforce, Calcraft, Whitbread, and Rose, in the month of March, 1813. The Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, laying aside the apathy which they had originally evinced on the subject, when they perceived that active steps were in

\* In the London Repository, vol. iv., pp. 487-8, the following remarks, from the pen of Dr. Burrows, in reference to the subject of education, are worthy of notice. "There is in London another defect, which we will cursorily mention, and that is the want of a regular School of Pharmacy. The Apothecaries' shops in England do not furnish those means of instruction in this important science which are necessary to form a good Pharmaceutist. Young men cannot acquire in such situations a practical knowledge of Chemistry, of *Materia Medica*, or of Botany; and when in London, if they are laudably desirous of prosecuting such studies, there are no institutions affording all the requisites for pursuing them with full advantage. A school, therefore, should certainly be established in this metropolis, where all these sciences and arts would be practically taught and illustrated, especially Pharmacy, even to the very manipulations of the art. These projects are not chimeras: they are obvious, simple in principle, and facile of adoption, and such as we hope ere long to see carried into effect."

† Although three-fourths of the body were actually among the petitioners! See "An Inquiry," &c., by Robert Masters Kerrison, p. 76.



progress, openly opposed the bill and presented petitions against it. The Society of Apothecaries maintained a certain degree of neutrality, as they could not offer direct opposition to a measure in which a majority of their body was prominently engaged.

The Chemists and Druggists, against whom some of the most important provisions in the bill were levelled, and to whom no application had been made for advice or assistance, spontaneously took the alarm, and the standing Committee of the Society, which they had formed for the protection of their interests in the year 1802, convened a general meeting for the purpose of opposing the new bill.

The following account of their proceedings is copied from the minute-book :

At a general meeting of the Chemists and Druggists in the metropolis, held, in pursuance of public advertisement, at the Freemasons' Tavern, Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Thursday, March 4th, 1813, to take into consideration "An Abstract of a Bill for regulating the Practice of Apothecaries, Surgeon Apothecaries, Practitioners in Midwifery, and Compounders and Dispensers of Medicines throughout England and Wales," published by order of the general Committee,

MR. HUDSON in the chair,

The following Resolutions were passed :

"*First—Resolved*, That the abstract of a bill, published and proposed to be brought into Parliament by certain Apothecaries, contains many clauses deeply injurious to the Chemists and Druggists who compound and dispense medicines, and to the public at large, inasmuch as the operation of these clauses will be to put all compounders and dispensers of medicines under the control of a Committee of Apothecaries (distinct from the corporate body of Apothecaries), and to give that Committee a power, by the making of by-laws, and the issuing of annual licences, to use means of the greatest oppression and injustice, and eventually to place a monopoly of compounding and dispensing medicines in the hands of the Apothecaries, which will increase the price of medicines, and consequently diminish the means of a large body of the community to procure necessary medical assistance.

"*Second*—That the Chemists and Druggists having, for a great number of years, exercised the trade of compounding and dispensing medicines (by which they mean making up the prescriptions of Physicians and Surgeons) to the satisfaction and advantage of the public, consider it highly important to oppose this bill in all its stages, so far as it interferes with their established and universally acknowledged business.

"*Third*—That a Committee be chosen, five of whom shall be a quorum, to take the necessary steps for opposing the bill ; and that the Committee do consist of the following persons, with power to increase their number :

Messrs. ALLEN, Plough Court  
BELL, Oxford Street  
COOKE, Southampton Street  
COLE, Newgate Street  
COMPLIN, Bishopsgate Street  
CURTIS, Old Fish Street  
HASTINGS, Haymarket

Messrs. HUME, Long Acre  
HUDSON, Haymarket  
PHILLIPS, Poultry  
SAVORY, Bond Street  
SMITH, Haymarket  
TENNIS, Bond Street

"Fourth—That a subscription be entered into for defraying the expenses attendant on prosecuting the opposition to the bill; that Mr. Complin be treasurer; and that no moneys be paid but on an application, in writing, signed by at least three members of Committee, in Committee; and that subscriptions be received by all the members of the Committee.

"(Signed) W. B. HUDSON, *Chairman*."

"The Committee met on the 5th of March, at the house of Mr. William Allen. Mr. Hudson, the chairman, stated, that he had had an interview with Mr. Wilberforce, who recommended a meeting, by deputation, between the Apothecaries and Chemists; but on a full consideration of circumstances, the Committee thought this measure inexpedient. The chairman was, therefore, requested to inform Mr. Wilberforce of this determination.

"It was also resolved to publish an address to the country Chemists and Druggists in the following papers: *Times, Morning Herald, Chronicle, Ledger, Star, Courier, and Statesman*.

It was resolved to retain Mr. Brougham as counsel.

A Sub-Committee was appointed to prepare the address, the Secretary was requested to draw up the form of a petition, and the Committee adjourned to the 8th, on which day they met at the Globe Tavern. They also met on the 12th, 15th, 17th, and 18th. Mr. Brougham being out of town, Mr. Adam was retained as counsel, and Mr. Harrison to assist at consultation. The result of the labours of the Committee during the above space of time is detailed in the following report:

At a general meeting of the Chemists and Druggists in the metropolis, held, in pursuance of public advertisement, at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Monday, 22d March, 1813,

Mr. HUDSON in the chair,

The following Report was presented by the Committee:

"Your Committee, in reporting their progress since the last general meeting, have to observe, that, after advertising the resolutions of that day in the most widely-circulated London newspapers, they directed their attention to the best means of informing their fellow-tradesmen individually throughout the kingdom of the steps already taken to oppose the Apothecaries' Bill, and to request their communications and subscriptions in support of that object. This was done by a circular letter, addressed to all whose names could be collected in town and country. They have now the gratification to state, that their exertions in this respect have been highly successful. From most parts of the kingdom they have received the most hearty concurrence in their views; many towns have formed associations, and transmitted liberal subscriptions—some have published and adopted the substance of the resolutions of the general meeting as their own. Numerous subscriptions have also been received from individuals where associations could not be formed, and communications have been received from associations promising an early remittance of their funds—almost all offering more assistance, if necessary.

"Your Committee, in acknowledging communications or remittances, have not failed to urge upon their correspondents the importance of soliciting their town and country members to oppose the bill.

"The expected reading of the bill a second time, on an early day after the first reading, necessarily presented great difficulty and inconvenience to your Committee in preparing their opposition to it; but in consequence of an interview between the mover of the bill (Mr. Calcraft) and one of their body, Mr. Calcraft very handsomely deferred the second reading till Friday, the 26th instant, an indulgence which your Committee acknowledged with due respect.

"Many Members of Parliament have been waited upon, and their opposi-

tion to the bill solicited. Your Committee are happy to state, that several of them were fully sensible of its obnoxious tendency, and others who were before unacquainted with it, have promised to give it their attention and consideration.

"In the course of their exertions and inquiries, your Committee have found that many Apothecaries, both in town and country, were not only unacquainted with the bill brought into Parliament, but that they were averse to many of its provisions.

"A petition, prepared under the direction of your Committee, is now to be brought forward for your approbation and signature. A circular letter for Members of Parliament is in the press."

The following is a copy of the circular :

"Sir,—The Committee of Chemists and Druggists respectfully solicit your attention to the following provisions of a bill now pending in Parliament, 'for regulating the Practice of Apothecaries, Surgeon Apothecaries,' &c. &c.  
"Section. Page.

- " 1. 2. Provides a Committee of twenty-seven Apothecaries and eight Physicians and Surgeons, 'for ever,' to regulate not only the practice of Apothecaries, but all the Chemists and Druggists in England and Wales.
- " 2. 3. Excludes all Chemists and Druggists from any vote or influence in directing the operation of the bill.
- " 7. 5. Enables the Committee to employ informers, under the description of 'such other officers as the Committee shall adjudge to be necessary.'
- " 9. 6. Enables the Committee to make by-laws for its own regulation, advantage, and 'interest,' and to alter them at pleasure.
- " 11. 7. Appoints medical provincial districts, subject to the absolute control of the London Committee.
- " 20. 11. Empowers the Committee to determine the necessary qualifications of compounders and dispensers of medicines, and their assistants.
- " 25. 13. Requires a sum to be paid for certificate of examination.
- " 30. 15. Requires an annual licence to be taken out by every Chemist and Druggist, on pain of penalty.
- " 34. 16. Licences may be refused on a charge of immorality of character, to be judged of by the Committee.
- " 35. 17. Appeals from all parts of England and Wales to be determined by the London Committee.
- " 43. 20. Gives great encouragement to informers, and provides a permanent fund for prosecutions.
- " 47. 21. Gives the magistrate authority to imprison for small penalties.
- " 48. 22. Protects the prosecutor under any informality, and affords no redress but by an action at law.

"It will be observed, that in the constitution of the Committee, the Apothecaries are to possess a majority so overbearing, as virtually to reduce the Physicians and Surgeons to nothing ; and the obvious tendency of the bill is to depress and ruin, and eventually to extirpate, the compounding Chemists and Druggists ; for though their existence is to be suffered, yet they are to be entirely excluded from any share or voice in directing the operation of the bill ; and the inquisitorial power it will establish over them and their assistants, must produce infinite confusion, embarrassment, and injury.

"By the great encouragement held out to informers, any medical advice or interference on the most urgent, or most trivial occasion, whether real or pretended, may subject the Chemists and Druggists to frivolous and vexatious proceedings and penalties.

"The clause enabling the Committee to make by-laws of an indefinite nature, may be the instrument of grievous oppression and injustice.

"The Chemists and Druggists conceive that their long experience in making up prescriptions, and their extensive employment in preparing the various articles of the Pharmacopœia, for the use of medical practitioners, must necessarily render them more competent than Apothecaries to compound medicines, and to judge of the qualifications of the assistants they employ for that purpose, and it is scarcely necessary to add, that their interest and reputation are deeply concerned in the selection of proper persons.

"The annual licence will not only operate as a tax upon persons not represented in the legislating body, but may be withheld upon vague charges against their characters—Apothecaries being the judges.

"Great hardship and injustice may arise in the country districts, where it will be very easy for Apothecaries to combine against a Chemist and Druggist, or to harass his assistants; and much expense as well as loss of time must be incurred by travelling up to London, from all parts of the kingdom, for redress from the superintending Committee.

"Persons convicted in small penalties, on the evidence of a single witness, may be distressed and imprisoned on the authority of a magistrate's warrant, and the distressing party is to be protected under any informality, while the aggrieved person can obtain no redress but by an action at law.—A single individual, perhaps already ruined, against an organized body with a permanent fund!

"The middle and lower classes of the community will suffer material inconvenience and injury from the operation of the bill. In large towns it is usual for Physicians to prescribe *gratis* for the poor, and to send them to a Chemist and Druggist for the medicines—and in populous districts, ineligible for the residence of a Physician, and unfavourable for the formation of local charitable institutions, simple remedies are often procured from the Chemist and Druggist at a cheap rate; but if these classes are obliged on every slight ailment to employ a professional man, who can legally charge for attendance and medicine, they must encounter the greatest pecuniary inconvenience, or the distressing consequences of protracted sickness.

March 22d, 1813.

"First—It was resolved unanimously, that the above report be received.

"Second—Resolved, That a petition\* be presented to the House of Commons from this Meeting; and that the petition, as prepared, be now read.

"Third—Resolved, That the petition just read be approved and signed by the Chemists and Druggists of the metropolis.

"Fourth—Resolved, That the Committee be empowered to put the petition into the hands of such Members of Parliament as they shall think most favourable to their cause, to have it presented to the House of Commons.

"W. B. HUDSON, Chairman."

In consequence of the determined opposition which was made in all quarters to the bill at its first reading, the Committee of the Associated Apothecaries modified it considerably, and on the 25th of March, 1813, sent the following notice to the members of the House of Commons:—

The general Committee of Apothecaries and Surgeon Apothecaries, think it requisite to inform the members of the House of Commons, previously to the second reading of their Bill, of the following circumstances:

"1. That in the event of the bill passing into a Committee, they mean to expunge from it everything affecting the compounding Chemist and Druggist.

"2. That the idea of erecting a medical school has been abandoned, and that instead of interfering with the rights of the Royal College of Surgeons,

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\* It is not considered necessary to quote the form of petition.

they wish to make it imperative on every Surgeon Apothecary to have a diploma from the College of Surgeons.

"3. That the idea of uniting the different heads of the already-constituted medical bodies with Apothecaries and Surgeon Apothecaries in the superintending body, may be abandoned.

"4. That the views of the bill will be altogether confined to rendering the Apothecary and Surgeon Apothecary competent practitioners, by examinations, and obtaining for them a different mode of recompense for their visits and professional skill."

The Committee of the Chemists and Druggists met at the Globe, on the 29th of March, and also on the 1st and 7th of April. On the 8th of April, a general meeting took place, of which the following is a report :

At a general meeting of the Chemists and Druggists in the metropolis, held, in pursuance of public advertisement, at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Thursday, the 8th day of April, 1813,

Mr. HUDSON in the chair,

The following Report was presented by the Committee :

"Your Committee have now the satisfaction formally to announce to you, that the measure which first occasioned our meeting together is abandoned for the present session—the Apothecaries' Bill was withdrawn by the mover, on Friday, the 26th of last month, the day appointed for the second reading. The motives for this procedure are thus stated in the public advertisement of the Committee of Apothecaries, inserted in the newspapers of the succeeding day, as follows:—'The great importance of the objects embraced by the bill lately introduced before Parliament for regulating the concerns of the profession the complexity of its interest, and the very extensive communications from the country, many of them entitled to more attention than the shortness of the period allowed by the present session will permit, have induced the Committee to withdraw the bill from the House, in order that it may be submitted, in the course of the next session, under a more perfect form.'

"The petition submitted to you at the last general meeting was signed by a very large majority of the Chemists and Druggists in the metropolis. It was presented to the House of Commons on the 24th ult., by the Right Hon. Geo. Canning, who previously honoured a deputation of your Committee with an interview, to enable them to explain to him the particular grounds of their opposition to the Apothecaries' Bill.

"A circular letter was also distributed amongst the Members of the House of Commons; and in the interviews which individuals or deputations of your Committee had with various Members, they had the satisfaction to find a general concurrence in the views, as to the oppressive and injurious operation of the proposed bill upon the Chemists and Druggists.

"The avowed intention of the Apothecaries to introduce another bill into Parliament next session, and the recollection of the previous harassings the trade has experienced, cannot fail to convince you of the necessity of a continued watchfulness to protect and preserve the interests of all concerned in it. Your Committee, therefore, feel it to be their duty to recommend to the consideration of this meeting, the adoption of some measure for this purpose, and at the same time to submit to you the importance of providing a fund, to be ready on any emergency, to enable them to adopt the most

speedy and most effectual measures without incurring the great labour, inconvenience, and delay attendant on an extensive correspondence with the country.

"The amount of subscriptions already received is a little more than £500, and the expenses are now short of £100, when the whole of the business is concluded, they will be within £120.

"Resolved, That the Report now read be received.

"Resolved, That the present Committee do remain a permanent Committee for the protection of the interests of the Chemists and Druggists.

"Resolved, That the surplus of the subscriptions, after the expenses are paid, be funded in the names of Trustees.

"Resolved, That the Trustees be the Chairman, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Horner, subject to the direction and control of the Committee.

"Resolved, That these resolutions be printed on the same sheet with the circular letter to Members of Parliament, and sent to all the Chemists and Druggists in town and country, in order that they may be accurately informed of the particular grounds taken by the Committee, in their opposition to the Apothecaries' Bill.

"At the same time urging those who have not yet sent their subscriptions to remit them immediately, that they may be added to the permanent fund.

"The Chairman having left the chair,

"Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Committee for their prompt and persevering exertions in this business.

W. B. HUDSON, *Chairman.*

"Mr. Savory having been voted into the chair, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this general meeting of Chemists and Druggists are due, and are hereby presented to W. B. Hudson, Esq. (Chairman) accompanied with a piece of plate, of the value of thirty guineas, as an acknowledgement of his services rendered the trade by his prompt, zealous, and unremitted attention to their interests, in the opposition to the late injurious bill introduced into Parliament by certain Apothecaries.

Notwithstanding the modifications in the bill, and the persevering efforts of the Committee of Associated Apothecaries to conciliate the three constituted medical bodies, these advances met with no encouragement, and the Committee, on the 19th of November, 1813, passed the following resolution:—

Resolved, That this Committee determine not to apply for the formation of a fourth Medical body for the purpose of examinations, if the powers of the present Chartered Bodies can be so extended as to accomplish the objects which the printed resolutions of the 4th of September embrace.\*

This resolution was sent, with an appropriate memorial, to each of the three bodies, and the following replies were received:—

*Apothecaries' Hall, October 29, 1813.*

"Resolved, That this Court, after taking into consideration the memorial addressed to them from the Committee of the Society of Apothecaries and Surgeon Apothecaries of England and Wales, together with the reply of the Royal College of Physicians, enclosed to their memorial, are of opinion, that this Court cannot enter into measures for any improvement in Pharmacy, but in conjunction with that learned body.

S. BACKLER, *Clerk.*"

\* The substance of these resolutions has already been stated.

Dr. Latham, on behalf of the ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, transmitted a copy of a resolution as laid before the College at the last *comitia*, enclosed in a short note dated January 27, 1814, in which he stated that he was "sincerely happy in the prospect afforded of matters being, at last, satisfactorily adjusted."

*Resolved*, That the President be empowered to inform the Right Hon. George Rose, that the Royal College of Physicians have no objection to the formation of a Bill to be brought into Parliament by the London Committee of Apothecaries, upon the basis of certain resolutions passed by the said Committee, and dated 4th of September 1813, provided—the powers therein contained be vested in the Society of Apothecaries as established by the charter of King James, and provided—the Bill, before it shall be brought into the House of Commons, be submitted to the consideration of the College of Physicians for their approval."

This report, which had been drawn up by a committee, was approved by the College, with a slight exception, relating to Army and Navy Surgeons, which it is unnecessary here to particularize†.

The following is the laconic answer of the COLLEGE OF SURGEONS :—

"Royal College of Surgeons, February 12, 1814.

"SIR,

I am directed by the Master of the College, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and enclosures of the 8th instant, and to return you his thanks for the same.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

"EDW. BALFOUR, Sec."

"Wm. T. Ward, Esq."

A general meeting of the Associated Apothecaries was held on the 12th of May, 1814, Mr. Burrows in the chair. The report of the Committee contained a detailed account of their reasons for abandoning their original design, and of the progress the Society of Apothecaries had made in framing a new bill, which they proposed to bring into Parliament at their own expense, under the sanction of the College of Physicians.

The report having been read, Mr. A. T. Thomson expressed at some length his conviction, that although the proposed bill was in many respects defective, and by no means so satisfactory and complete as the one which the Committee had been compelled to withdraw, yet the circumstances of the case rendered it advisable to unite with the Society of Apothecaries in the work which they had undertaken, and thus to secure a portion at least of those advantages which it appeared impossible to obtain to the full extent.

Mr. Good, who had been absent from some of the late meetings of the Committee, dissented from the report; and denounced

the proposed bill "as a measure which had been raked from the musty records in which it had mouldered for two hundred years; to disgrace the enlightened period of the nineteenth century." He objected to the omission of what he considered one of the most important features in the original bill—examinations in Anatomy, Surgery, and Midwifery. He objected to the inquisitorial power being vested in any body of men, of entering premises under pretence of "searching for drugs, unlawful, deceitful, corrupt," &c.; and severely handled the clause which subjects an Apothecary to a penalty "if he shall at any time knowingly, wilfully, and contumaciously, refuse to compound," or shall "falsely, unfaithfully, fraudulently," compound any medicines, &c., as directed in any prescription signed with the initials of a Physician. \*

The chairman explained that a separate bill was contemplated for the regulation of Surgery and Midwifery—that the clause respecting the visitation of shops would be modified in committee, and that the penalty for refusal to compound prescriptions was designed merely to give the Physician authority over the patient, and the treatment adopted, and not to oblige Apothecaries to compound prescriptions whether it suited their convenience or not.

Mr. Good was not at all satisfied with this explanation, and concluded his speech by insisting, that the bill was "a measure made up of restrictions, penalties, and imprisonments; founded in tyranny and oppression," which he felt confident the meeting would reject. After several members had briefly expressed their opinions, Mr. A. T. Thomson replied to Mr. Good in an elaborate speech, in which he answered the various objections *seriatim*, contending that it would be unwise, because the whole of what was desired could not be obtained, to refuse a part; and stating that the Committee were still on the alert, and would, he trusted, continue their exertions until, sooner or later, they had succeeded in accomplishing all that they had undertaken.

The motion in favour of supporting the bill was carried by a large majority.

The Committee of the Associated Apothecaries met at the Crown and Anchor, May 26th, and drew up an amended clause, which they desired to substitute for that which makes it penal for an Apothecary to *refuse* to compound a prescription, which, with a few other suggestions, they forwarded to the College of Physicians.

The clause, however, remains as it originally stood.

When this unfortunate bill was brought into the House, on the 23d of February, the College of Physicians signified their determination to oppose it, without stating the ground of their objec-



tion. When the several portions of the bill came under discussion, it was found necessary to make considerable alterations in order to meet the wishes of the College. The House of Lords also introduced amendments, in consequence of which it was rejected by the Commons, and it was necessary *pro forma* to bring in a new bill. These proceedings occasioned so much delay that the close of the session had almost arrived before the bill was completed, and it was ultimately hurried through Parliament in a state which was not altogether satisfactory to the promoters of the measure, although they chose the alternative of securing it in that condition, hoping to obtain an amended Act during the ensuing session, and fearing that by further procrastination they might be defeated altogether.

But we must not omit to notice the proceedings of the Chemists and Druggists, who met this bill with the same determined opposition with which they had encountered its predecessor.

At a general meeting of the Chemists and Druggists in the metropolis, held, in pursuance of public advertisement, at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Monday, the 6th day of March, 1815,

Mr. HUDSON in the chair,

The following are the principal clauses of the Report which was presented by the Committee :\*

"Your Committee, in reporting their progress since the last general meeting, have to acquaint you, that the Society of Apothecaries have procured a bill to be brought into the House of Commons, entitled "A Bill for enlarging the Charter of the Society of Apothecaries in the City of London, granted by His Majesty King James the First, and for better regulating the Practice of Apothecaries throughout England and Wales;" and such bill appears to your Committee to be equally objectionable as the former bill presented by the Associated Apothecaries, and as injurious to the Chemists, Druggists, and to the public at large.

"On Monday the 16th May, 1814, a Sub-Committee was appointed to confer with a Sub-Committee of the Associated Apothecaries, on the bill proposed to be brought into Parliament, "For enlarging the Charter of the Society of Apothecaries," &c., and to report to the Committee the result of such conference. In answer to the letter proposing a conference, the following was received :—

" Bloomsbury Square, May 18th, 1814.

" Sir,

"In answer to your favour of yesterday, permit me to remark, that I apprehend your application is made to me under the impression that the bill about to be introduced to Parliament is a bill formed by the Committee of Associated Apothecaries, and that they carry it into the House.

"For the information of yourself and the gentlemen acting with you, permit me also to say, that it is arranged by the Society of Apothecaries, in

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\*At a meeting of the Committee, held at the Globe, on the 2d of March, 1814, Mr. Westwood, of Newgate Street, and Mr. Butterfield, of the Strand, were added to the Committee.

conjunction with the College of Physicians, that it has been submitted for the remarks of the Committee to which I belong, and received, after some amendments are made which were proposed, the approbation of a general meeting of Apothecaries, held last Thursday, to take the bill into consideration.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

"W. B. HUDSON, Esq."

"G. M. BURROWS."

"On Thursday, November 24, 1814, the account of subscriptions and disbursements was audited and approved, whereby it appeared that £550, five per cent. annuities were standing in the names of the Trustees, which cost the sum of £502 1s. 6d., and that a balance of £36 4s. remained in the hands of the Treasurer; and it was resolved, that a circular letter should be sent to all the Chemists and Druggists in town and country, informing them of the proceedings of the Committee, since the last General Meeting.

"Resolved unanimously, That the report now read be received and approved.

"The Chairman then informed the Meeting, that the Apothecaries' Bill was now to be submitted to the Meeting. The bill having been read and discussed, it was

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Meeting, that the bill now read, contains much matter highly injurious to the Chemists and Druggists and the public at large, and that therefore it ought to be opposed.

"Resolved, That a petition be presented to the House of Commons, against the aforesaid bill, and that a petition for this purpose be now read.

"Resolved, That the petition now read be approved, and be signed by the Chemists and Druggists of the metropolis.

"Resolved, That the Committee be empowered to take measures to have the petition presented to Parliament, and to employ such other means as they shall think fit, and may be necessary for opposing the said bill.

"Resolved, That the resolutions be advertised in the *Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, and *Courier*.

"W. B. HUDSON."

On the 17th of April, Mr. Gifford was added to the Committee.

At a general meeting of the Chemists and Druggists in the metropolis, held at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, London, on Friday, the 21st day of April, 1815, in pursuance of advertisements,

Mr. HUDSON in the chair,

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

"Your Committee, in reporting their progress since the last general meeting, have to acquaint you that, in order to carry into execution the resolutions of the general meeting of the 6th day of March last, relative to the bill brought into Parliament by the Society of Apothecaries, they met together the next day, when a Sub-Committee, consisting of the Chairman, Mr. Smith, Mr. Allen, Mr. Cole, and Mr. Savory, was appointed to confer with the Committee of the Society of Apothecaries on the subject of the said bill, and that any two of them should be competent to hold such conference, and report the result thereof.

"Monday, the 13th of March.—The Chairman reported from the Sub-Committee, that he had written to the Master of the Society of the Apothecaries' Company, requesting a conference with the Committee of the said Society, on the subject of the said bill; and that he had received a letter from their

Secretary appointing Wednesday next, at one o'clock, to receive the deputation.

*Wednesday, the 15th of March.*—The Chairman reported, that Mr. Smith, Mr. Savary, and himself, had waited upon the Society of Apothecaries that day, according to their appointment, and that the Society declared it to be their intention not to interfere at all with the Chemists and Druggists by their bill now in Parliament, and they offered to prepare a clause to that effect, to be added to the bill, for the satisfaction of the Chemists and Druggists.

*Monday, the 20th of March.*—The Chairman reported, that he had received the following letter from the Solicitors to the Society of Apothecaries, inclosing a clause proposed to be added to their bill, now pending in Parliament, for exempting the Chemists and Druggists from the provisions and effect of the said bill.

"SIR,—We are instructed by the Committee of the Society of Apothecaries to forward to you the clause which they propose, at the requisition of the Committee of your body, to introduce into the act now before the House of Commons, and which, we trust, will meet the wishes of the parties whom you represent.

"The Committee of the Society of Apothecaries see with concern that misrepresentations have been made of their object, which is the improvement of their branch of the profession in medical knowledge. To this their views are so entirely directed, that they have no disposition to insist on any clause which is not essentially connected with it. If the power enabling them to purchase land (a power which was asked for only because the opportunity of obtaining it without expense presented itself) be a clause which excites any jealousy, and of which the omission would conciliate the Chemists and Druggists, they have no hesitation in stating, that they shall recommend it to the Court of Assistants not to press its insertion.

"We are, SIR, your obedient Servants,

"FLADGATE AND NEEDL."

"Banc Street, 17th of March, 1815.

The clause proposed :

"Provided always and be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend or be construed to extend, to prejudice, or in any way to affect the trade and business of a Chemist and Druggist; but all persons using or exercising the said trade, or who shall or may hereafter use or exercise the same, shall and may use, exercise, and carry on the same trade in such manner and as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as they might have done in case this act had not been made."

"Your Committee directed that the charter of the Apothecaries, the new bill in Parliament, with the proviso above proposed, and the letter of the solicitors of the Apothecaries' Company, should be submitted to the consideration of Counsel, as to the effect the same might have on the Chemists and Druggists, and that the secretaries should lay the same before Counsel with proper instructions accordingly.

"Monday, 17th April.—The secretaries laid before the Committee the case submitted to Counsel on behalf of the Chemists and Druggists, with the Charter and Bill in Parliament, and Counsel's opinion thereon; also the proviso proposed by the solicitors of the Society of Apothecaries, as settled by Counsel. And it was resolved, that the following clause should be recommended to the general meeting, to be added to the bill now pending in Parliament; and that it be also recommended to the general meeting to request the Society of Apothecaries to withdraw the clause introduced into their bill for enlarging their powers of purchasing lands."

Amended clause:—

*"Provided always, and be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to prejudice, or in any way to affect the trade or business of a Chemist and Druggist, in the buying, preparing, compounding, dispensing, and vending drugs and medicinal compounds, wholesale and retail; but all persons using or exercising the said trade or business, or who shall or may hereafter use or exercise the same, shall and may use, exercise, and carry on the same trade or business, in such manner and as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as the same trade or business was used, exercised, or carried on by Chemists and Druggists before the passing of this act."*

"Resolved unanimously, That the report now read be received.

"Resolved unanimously, That on the insertion of the last stated clause in the bill of the Society of Apothecaries now pending in Parliament, and on the withdrawal of the clause in the said bill for the enlargement of the power of the Society to purchase lands, the Chemists and Druggists do withdraw their opposition to the bill.

"Resolved unanimously, That the last resolution be sent, with a copy of the amended clause, to the Society of Apothecaries."

At a general meeting of the Chemists and Druggists in the metropolis, held in pursuance of public advertisements, at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, London, on Friday, the 11th day of August, 1815,

MR. HUDSON, in the chair,

The following report of the Committee was read:

"Your Committee have now the pleasure to report to you the termination of their labours on the Apothecaries' Bill. The clause to protect the Chemists and Druggists from the operation of the bill, which received the sanction of the last general meeting, was agreed to without alteration, by the Society of Apothecaries, and subsequently approved by the Committee of the House of Commons on the Bill, the Chairman attended the Committee with the Counsel and Secretary, and they had the satisfaction to find that the Counsel for the College of Physicians was also well satisfied with the clause.

"The earnest desire your Committee had to make some decision on the subject, that the trade might be relieved of the great expense and trouble heretofore experienced, led them to adopt every possible means to obtain a perfect understanding of the Charter of the Society of Apothecaries, in

order to form a clear idea of their own duty. This and the necessary attendance of the bill before the Committee of the House of Commons, has necessarily brought on a considerable expense of Counsel not before incurred, the result however has fully equalled their expectations, and they trust will be satisfactory to those whose interests they have been endeavouring to protect and support.

"The state of the funds since the last audit is as follows:—

1815.	£	s.	d.	1815.	£	s.	d.
Balance then in hand.	36	4	0	Paid Postages, 1814 .	7	17	11
April Dividends . . .	12	7	6	Advertisements & Room	16	18	8
Subscriptions . . .	18	12	0	Printing . . . . .	3	4	6
August Dividends . . .	12	7	6	Now due, Expenses			
				of Counsel . . . .	57	18	0
				Agents of both Houses			
				of Parliament . . .	23	3	6
				Secretary's Bill, includ-			
				ing Printing, Adver-			
				tisements, Postages,			
				and Attendances . .	95	4	2
					£204	6	9

Balance now in hand . 51 9 11

Navy 5 per Cents. in hand

£550, worth about . 500 0 0 Sterling.

"Some further expense of printing, postages, &c., will be necessary to convey a circular letter of information to the Subscribers.

"The Committee have only to observe in conclusion, that they beg to recommend to the consideration of this general meeting, that the surplus of the Fund should remain in the Navy 5 per cents., in the names of the present Trustees, to be appropriated to any purpose of trade for the benefit of the Subscribers which shall be sanctioned by a general meeting, and that future Subscriptions shall not be less than Two Guineas each."

"Resolved unanimously, That the report now read be received and approved.

"Resolved unanimously, That the surplus of the fund, after defraying the expenses, do remain in the Navy 5 per cents., in the names of the present Trustees, to be appropriated to any purpose of trade for the benefit of the subscribers, which shall receive the sanction of a general meeting, and that future Subscriptions shall not be less than Two Guineas each.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Right Honourable Lord Lascelles, for presenting the Petition of the Chemists and Druggists to the House of Commons, and for his constant attention to their interest.

"Second Resolution, Reconsidered and amended, and carried unanimously.

"Resolved unanimously, That the substance of the resolutions of the general meetings, be printed under the direction of the Committee and sent to all subscribers to the fund, in town and country.

"Resolved unanimously, That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Committee for their unwearied and successful services in securing to the Chemists and Druggists the free and undisturbed exercise of their trade and business.

The Chairman having left the chair,

Mr. Hume was voted to it.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Chairman for his attention to the business of the day.

An account of the proceedings of the Associated Apothecaries, in reference to the Act of 1815, is contained in the Transactions of that body, a volume published in the year 1823, and also in the London Medical Repository of 1814 and 1815.

The above brief outline is introduced for the purpose of connecting into one concise history, the principal circumstances of the controversy, and the policy adopted by the various parties concerned, in order that we may benefit by the experience of our predecessors.

The avowed object of the act was to protect the public from the dangers resulting from the ignorance of unqualified practitioners, to improve the character and respectability of the educated Surgeon-Apothecary, to establish a school of Medicine and Pharmacy, and to secure to qualified persons a fair remuneration for professional skill. The result is emphatically described in the Transactions of the Associated Apothecaries (Introductory Essay, page lviii).

"That it was very unsatisfactory may be seen, by comparing the Apothecaries Act as it is, with the Bill as first projected by the Association. Shown, indeed, is the latter of its fair proportions! The practice of medicine is doubtless placed under certain but very inadequate restrictions: but, whilst that of Surgery and Midwifery is still open to every unprincipled pretender, the Druggists are neither prevented from making up Physicians' prescriptions, nor even from practising medicine; no provision is made for securing a supply of qualified assistants; and lastly, while the public are thus denied so many and such great advantages, not only is the general practitioner not relieved from his burdens, but he is subjected to new and vexatious restrictions."

Gray, in his supplement to the Pharmacopœia, makes the following observations on the subject:—

"This Act has had the singular fortune of being violently opposed, as insufficient, by those who were its original promoters; of being esteemed a burden by many of those whom it was meant to benefit; and of being looked upon with indifference by those against whom it was intended to act; since the Act was altered and restricted to those who *practise as Apothecaries*, with an express declaration that it did not extend to the Chemists and Druggists, whose shops are in general confounded with those of the Apothecaries, and whose business differs no otherwise than that with the dispensing Physician or modern Apothecary, medical practice is the principal object, retail and dispensing the secondary: while, with the Chemist and Druggist, or old Apothecary, retail and dispensing are principal, and medical practice mostly confined to the counter, or to a few personal acquaintance; *à fortiori*, the midwives, herbalists, cuppers, barbers, electricians, galvanizers, dentists, farriers, veterinary surgeons, village wisemen, and cow-leeches, are left in full possession of their ancient practice, and may be consulted by those who place confidence in them, as they cannot be confounded with Apothecaries, though the Chemist and Druggist may."

Dr. George Mann Burrows continued his exertions as Chairman of the Committee of Associated Apothecaries until August, 1817, and pointed out a variety of defects in the bill, which the Com-

mittee submitted to the notice of the Court of Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries. But it was found impossible to induce that body to take the needful steps for rectifying these defects; and although proposals were entertained for applying to parliament for an amendment of the Act, no decisive result ensued.

The Association continued to meet periodically for some years, their chief attention being directed to the suppression of irregular and unqualified practitioners, but their efforts were not seconded by the Medical bodies, and although the Association comprised upwards of 3,000 members, their labours in this particular ended where they began.

The formation of so large an association of Apothecaries, distinct from the chartered Society of Apothecaries, especially as many of the members belonged to both bodies, is an anomaly the object of which it is not easy to comprehend; it appears that this Association was, in fact, a revival of that which was formed in the year 1794, and which was also unconnected with the three constituted medical bodies; but as its attention was directed to a new object, namely, that of ensuring the competence of Medical and Pharmaceutical practitioners of all ranks, and establishing a fair system of remuneration, the result ought to have been more successful than it was. But the want of unity in the profession itself, and the party spirit which prevailed throughout the controversy, diverted the influence into so many channels that a partial failure was the natural consequence. The Chemists and Druggists, on the contrary, who had already acquired a standing as dispensers of medicine, by uniting their strength on the occasion, secured to themselves a continuance of all their former privileges, although they did not at that time aspire to the scientific improvement which they have now undertaken to bring about. Their Committee retained the powers which had been confided in them, and kept a watchful eye on any proceedings or events which appeared likely to influence the welfare of their body, or in which their credit as Pharmacutists was concerned. In the year 1819 they called a public meeting, of which the following is the report:

At a general meeting of Chemists and Druggists, in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, held in pursuance of public advertisement, at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, on Thursday, the 24th day of June, 1819,

Mr. HUDSON in the chair,

The following Report was presented by the Committee:—

“Your Committee have called you together on the present occasion to lay before you some information respecting a bill which was brought into Parliament during the present session, entitled “A Bill for establishing Regu-

lations for the Sale of Poisonous Drugs, and for better preventing the mischiefs arising from inattention or neglect of persons vending the same."

"Your Committee procured copies of the bill as soon as it was printed, and met to consider its provisions, some of which appearing to them 'likely to embarrass the dispensing of medicines, and not calculated to effect the object intended,' they prepared a petition to that effect, which was presented to the House of Commons. They were subsequently favoured with a hearing before the Committee of the House, to whom the bill was referred, and the bill was shortly after withdrawn.

"Your Committer, however, being deeply sensible of the importance of the subject, and anxious to employ every possible means to attain the object intended by the bill, beg to recommend to the Chemists and Druggists, and all others who vend poisons or poisonous substances, the adoption of the following regulations in their shops.

"*First*—That no arsenic, oxalic acid, or corrosive sublimate, be issued by any vendor, without a printed label of the name of the article, and the word 'poison' being affixed to every wrapper, box, bottle, or other vessel containing the same.

"*Secondly*—That on every wrapper or vessel containing any drug or preparation likely to produce serious mischief, if improperly used, the name of the article be affixed in a legible form; and as many persons can read print who cannot read writing, they would recommend that printed labels be used where possible, in preference to written ones.

"*Thirdly*—That no person be allowed to serve poisons, who is not of sufficient age and experience to judge of the importance of the great caution necessary in avoiding the sale of them to improper or ignorant persons.

"*Resolved unanimously*, That the report now read be received and approved, and that the same be printed and circulated as widely as possible among the Chemists and Druggists and all other persons who vend poisons or poisonous drugs throughout the United Kingdom."

In the year 1824 another edition of the London Pharmacopœia was published, and Sir George Tuthill produced the English translation. On this occasion Mr. Phillips, instead of repeating his strictures on the work of the College, gave a specimen of his own performance in "a Translation, with notes and illustrations," which he published shortly after that of Sir George Tuthill. The merit of this work was appreciated by the College, as would appear from the subsequent appointment of Mr. Phillips as the official translator of the Pharmacopœia of 1836.

Dr. A. T. Thomson's "London Dispensatory" appeared in the year 1814, and has undergone a succession of improvements and amplifications up to the present time. The fame and merits of the work are too well known to require any particular notice; it comprehends in one volume a sufficiently ample account of all the substances comprised in the *Materia Medica*, a very useful explanation of the science of Chemistry, as applied to Pharmacy, a compendium of the three Pharmacopœias, with copious notes,



and a list of substances incompatible with others in extemporaneous prescriptions. The tenth edition has lately been announced.

The Committee of the Druggists' Association of 1802 met in the year 1829, in consequence of the vexatious proceedings of the Commissioners of Stamps, aided by common informers, in reference to the medicine act. Numerous penalties were inflicted on individuals in various parts of the country for selling lozenges, and other articles, by weight, without a stamp, which had hitherto been considered legal, provided printed directions for their use were not affixed. The injustice of these proceedings became so glaring, that it was considered necessary to take some steps for protecting the trade. Accordingly a meeting was called on the 31st of December, 1829. The following resolutions are inserted, as they show the disposition which prevailed at that time to form a permanent society:

That the individuals composing this Society disclaim all motive of opposition to any act of the legislature. They declare their sole object in associating to be the concerting, in unison, the fair means of protecting themselves and the trade from the losses and annoyance in business to which they are subjected, on the part of the stamp-office, by prosecutions for penalties, under what they honestly conceived to be, and are legally advised, is a misconstruction of the Medicine Stamp Act.

That a Society be formed, to be intituled, "The General Association of Chemists and Druggists of Great Britain," for the purpose of obtaining a judicial construction of the Medicine Stamp and Licence Acts, by assisting those who have been improperly prosecuted, to bring their cases before a court of justice, and, if the acts should be there held to have been rightly construed, for the further purpose of obtaining a revision of them by the legislature.

That a Committee of twelve, with liberty to add to their number, be chosen annually—five to form a quorum: the Committee to meet once in every month.

That a general meeting of the Association to be called by advertisement, and by circulars to all the Members, be held twice in each year (viz. May and November) at which meetings the Committee shall report its proceedings.

That the Committee be empowered to convene special general meetings, when any circumstances shall arise to render such meetings desirable.

That every member shall pay a yearly subscription of twenty shillings, and in default of payment, after two months' notice from the Secretary, he shall be excluded the Society, and debarred from all privileges and advantages.

That every Member claiming protection from the Society, shall lay before the Committee a full and fair statement, in writing, of all the circumstances of the case upon which he grounds such claim.

That the Committee shall have power to receive, examine, and consider any claim for protection, and decide thereon; and if the case be defensible at law, the expenses of such defence shall be defrayed out of the funds of the Society.

That the Committee be authorized to obtain such legal advice as they may deem necessary.

That no money be paid by the Treasurer without an order, in writing, from the Committee.

That at any general meeting by-laws may be enacted, which shall be as binding as the original rules; but that no by-law to alter or rescind any of the original rules shall be passed, unless notice be given in the circular calling such general meeting.

That Auditors (not being Members of the Committee) be elected annually, to examine and pass the Treasurer's accounts, which accounts are to be exhibited at the two named general meetings.

That all the offices, except the Secretary of the Society, be honorary: That the officers be elected annually, by the Members of the Society, at one of the general meetings, and that they be eligible to re-election.

This Association flourished for several months; Dr. Reece, Messrs. Midgley, Ancell, Gifford, Gray, Waugh, Watts, Binge, and Winstanley, were among the most active members. Petitions were drawn up and ready for presentation to Parliament, when an alteration took place in the law, the evil was at an end, and the Association was broken up. Mr. Hudson, the treasurer of the Association of 1812, declined to hand over the balance of subscriptions, as it appeared on maturely considering the subject, that the objects of the two Associations being different, he was not justified in amalgamating the funds.

About the year 1830 another attempt was made to introduce a reformation in the practice of Pharmacy in this country, and for this purpose it was proposed to address the government on the subject, petitioning for an Act which should regulate those who follow this department. Mr. John Savory took the lead on this occasion, and his efforts were seconded by the late Mr. Hudson and Mr. Butler. The memorial which was prepared contained a brief and appropriate exposition of the importance of Pharmacy to the health and life of his Majesty's subjects—the necessity of education and integrity in those whose duty it is to carry into effect the instructions of medical men—the prevalence of ignorant and incompetent persons calling themselves Chemists and Druggists, and the frequency of injury to the public from this source—the difficulty of detecting adulterations and the necessity of proper qualification in pharmacutists, in order to enable them to perform their duty in this respect—the advantages resulting from Pharmaceutical education in foreign countries—the danger arising from the uncontrolled sale of poisons by ignorant persons; and, finally, the absolute necessity of some sanatory regulations for the elevation of this department in the profession, and the protection of the public.

Mr. Savory waited on a considerable number of the Chemists and Druggists in London, soliciting signatures to this memorial; but so little encouragement was given to the proposed measure of reform, that the project fell to the ground. A notion appeared to prevail, that the trade had been so often attacked, that it was hazardous to court a repetition of former annoyances,

by introducing so delicate a subject, and thus giving the cue to parties who might be interested in bringing about a destructive revolution. It was also considered by many to be a chimerical scheme on account of the want of unanimity in the trade, and it seemed to be the opinion of the majority that it was

“Better to bear the ills we have  
Than fly to others that we know not of.”

Accordingly the memorial proved abortive, not from any doubt of its propriety or justice, but because the parties concerned, who might have promoted its object, were not disposed, in the absence of an exciting cause, to coalesce, and embark in an undertaking which would have involved a departure from the strictly *defensive* policy hitherto adopted by the trade.

The rapid progress of the science of Chemistry, and the recent introduction of various substances and preparations into medicinal use, had by this time thrown the Pharmacopœia of 1824 into the shade, and a new edition was anxiously anticipated. Some delay arose from the endeavour to compile, “not as before, a London Pharmacopœia, but one which should include Scotland and Ireland with England,” for which purpose “it was requisite to consult with the Fellows of both colleges; and as, on account of the great distance, this was with difficulty accomplished,” the college was “constrained to abandon the negotiation, which had been commenced.”\* There was, however, another obstacle to this project, namely, there was a considerable stock on hand of the Dublin Pharmacopœia, which must have been sacrificed at a heavy loss to the publisher (or the college), if the amalgamation had been carried into effect. It must also be recollected, that at the time the “great distance” was considered an insurmountable bar to the union, the railroads and the penny postage had not come into operation.

In the year 1836, the London Pharmacopœia was completed, and Mr. Phillips, who had been engaged in the practical details of its compilation, was officially authorized to publish the translation. Among the most important additions, we may mention the alkaloids—morphia, aconitina, strychnia, and veratria, several preparations of iodine; hydrocyanic and phosphoric acids, and a few conventional formulæ, such as *pilula rhei composita*, *mistura spiritus vini Gallici*, &c. &c.

In this Pharmacopœia an alphabetical arrangement is adopted, from which however a few substances are excepted, forming separate sections. Mr. Phillips, in his translation, gives explicit instructions for testing the strength of preparations, and for detecting impurities. The known (or supposed) constitution of the various compounds is explained by diagrams and symbols,

\* *Pharmacopœia Londinensis*, 1836, Phillips' translation, preface, p. 7.

a list of synonymes is affixed to each preparation, tables of equivalents and symbols are given in addition to the other tables, and many valuable remarks and directions are added, which make the work very complete and voluminous.

The alterations in the nomenclature have been so much commented upon, that it is unnecessary to notice them in detail. Our only cause for regret is, that the multiplication of terms and synonymes has occasioned considerable ambiguity, which is not unfrequently productive of inconvenience as well as mistakes. Some of the alterations in names have little or no reference to scientific considerations; as, for instance, *pilula saponis composita*, for *pilula saponis cum opio*, *tinctura camphoræ* for *spiritus camphoræ*, *mistura acaciæ* for *mucilago acaciæ*, *syrupus* for *syrupus simplex*, &c. These changes are of no importance, except in a few instances, in which they occasion a little want of perspicuity.

The adoption of the imperial measure, in conformity with the Act of Parliament, by which measures in general are regulated, has given rise to some discussion. As the College of Physicians is authorized by law to publish a *Pharmacopœia*, and to enforce its observance by those who compound and prepare medicines, it may fairly be doubted whether that body comes within the pale of the Act by which publicans and wine-merchants are governed, and as the Medical Profession has adopted, and continues to use "*Apothecaries' Weights*," it cannot be denied that "*Apothecaries' Measure*" might with equal propriety be allowed. In adverting to the disadvantage of unnecessary changes of this description, we may recur to Mr. Phillips's remarks on the *libra*, quoted page 35, which with a slight variation would apply to the recent change in the value of the term *octarium*. In the present instance, however, it may also be observed, that the old pint is more convenient than the new, as it admits of subdivision to a greater extent without fractions, and is therefore better adapted to the calculations of the Pharmaceutical Chemist. Some medical men, in order to avoid the ambiguity which now exists respecting the *octarium*, use the term *libra* (meaning 16oz.); but this is no less ambiguous, as the Apothecaries' pound is 12oz. and the fluid pound is obsolete. Others avoid the use of the terms *pound* and *pint* altogether, which indeed, is the only effectual method of avoiding confusion.

In the year 1837, Dr. Collier published a caustic and acrid pamphlet, in which he disputed the title of the College to secure the copyright of the *Pharmacopœia* to Mr. Phillips, enumerating a number of instances in which translations of former *Pharmacopœias* had been published without authority, among others a translation by himself, in the year 1820, and the one by Phillips

in 1824. In this pamphlet he announced his intention of again appearing in the field, and shortly afterwards produced his translation of the Pharmacopœia of 1836, with copious notes and comments.

The next event which we have to notice in the annals of Pharmacy, is the Parliamentary inquiry, instituted by a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1839, of which Mr. Warburton was chairman. The object of this Committee was to revise all the laws relating to the Medical Profession—to obtain authentic and satisfactory evidence in every department of the subject—and to reform any abuses which might be found to exist. Every person who was supposed to be likely to possess information of any importance was examined, and the mass of evidence thus collected was, as might have been expected, very voluminous. The fire which took place at the House of Commons was an obstacle to the completion of the work, as a portion of the evidence, including that which related to Pharmacy, was burnt when on the eve of publication. Sufficient materials, however, were collected and preserved to enable Mr. Warburton, assisted by Mr. Wakley and Mr. Hawes, to prepare a bill, entitled “A Bill for the Registration of Medical Practitioners, and for establishing a College of Medicine, and for enabling the Fellows of that College to practise Medicine in all or any of its branches, and hold any Medical Appointments whatsoever, in any part whatsoever of the United Kingdom.” This bill contained no provision for the prosecution or punishment of unqualified practitioners, but it provided for the registration of those who had passed the requisite examinations, and who were to pay an annual tax towards the expenses of the establishment, in return for which they were to enjoy the privileges of registration, and holding offices of emolument in the profession. According to the principles advocated by Mr. Warburton, the public were to be furnished with qualified practitioners in every department, and ample means provided for distinguishing between those who possessed the requisite proficiency and others; but no penalties were to be inflicted on persons who presumed to practise without a qualification, it being considered that the public are responsible for the results of patronizing such persons.

The machinery of the plan proposed by Mr. Warburton for registering medical and pharmaceutical practitioners, was so complicated, and the provisions of the Bill so unsatisfactory to those who advocated the restraint of unqualified practitioners, and who constituted the bulk of the “Medical Reformers,” that the bill was withdrawn at an early stage: those who had been engaged in the work divided themselves into two or three parties, and other bills were prepared which were destined to share a

similar fate. But before entering on the notice of these bills, it may be as well to advert to the operation of the Apothecaries Act, in reference to Chemists and Druggists. In the evidence of Mr. Nussey, in the Parliamentary Committee, June 9, 1836, the following statements were elicited :—

34. The Act of 1815, reserves to Chemists and Druggists whatsoever privileges they possessed at the time the bill passed; among which they reckon the privilege of prescribing and dispensing in their own shops—does not this privilege occasion medicine to be practised by a number of persons who have not received any regular medical education?—Most undoubtedly.

35. Why would you put down unqualified practitioners of one description, when you maintain in possession of a right to practise, an unlimited number of persons of another description, who, for the most part, have received no medical instruction whatever?—I do not admit that the Chemists and Druggists have the power of prescribing.

36. Do they not contend that they have the right to prescribe in their own shops, and do they not exercise that right?—That may be, but the law is decidedly against them.

37. Has any prosecution been instituted by your society against a Chemist and Druggist?—No.

38. Surely the Chemists and Druggists have exercised that right since 1815?—Yes; but it is in private. We have no means of getting information upon that point.

From this it appears, that during twenty-one years after the passing of the Apothecaries' Act, no attempt was made to restrain the Chemists and Druggists from prescribing in their own shops, as they had previously been in the habit of doing. If the Apothecaries had the power of prosecuting in such cases, it is remarkable that they *enjoyed* (?) it so long without *exercising* it.

At the time the Act passed, it was fresh in the recollection of those who framed it, that "it was their intention not to interfere at all with Chemists and Druggists;"\* but after a lapse of twenty-five years, it was found expedient to reconsider the words of the Act in order to discover how far they could be construed to meet certain cases in which its spirit was said to have been violated. It had by this time become notorious that persons who desired to establish a medical and surgical practice, without incurring the expense of a proper education, assumed the name of Chemists and Druggists in order to come within the pale of the protective clause, while they professed to act in every respect to and all intents and purposes as medical practitioners. Some of these equivocal "Chemists and Druggists" undertook to cure every disorder, and performed surgical operations of all kinds, both minor and capital, attracting a large number of patients by advertising the wonderful cures which they had performed. The Apothecaries, in order to put a construction on their Act favourable to themselves, and which had not been contemplated at the time it was

\* See page 49.

passed, consulted the most eminent lawyers, and all their ingenuity was directed to the task of demolishing the privilege which had been abused. The words were twisted in every variety of form, and conflicting opinions were given. On one side it was urged, that the trade or business of a Chemist was restricted in that clause to "the buying, preparing, compounding, dispensing, and vending drugs and medicinal compounds, wholesale and retail;" and that the words "recommending," or "prescribing," not being introduced, the clause did not afford protection to them in exercising these functions. On the other side it was contended, that the clause empowered all Chemists and Druggists "to use, exercise, and carry on the same trade or business in such a manner as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as the same trade or business was used, exercised, or carried on by Chemists and Druggists before the passing of this Act." It was well known that Chemists and Druggists were in the habit of prescribing prior to 1815\*; but so many years having elapsed, it was not so easy as might at first have been imagined, to obtain such evidence on this point as would be received in a court of justice. On this, therefore, hinged the chief difficulty of the question, and the first case which was brought into court was decided in favour of the Chemist and Druggist; Mr. Justice Maule having considered that the protective clause entitled him to give advice as well as medicine. But this decision was afterwards reversed by the Court of Queen's Bench, a new trial having been granted. In allusion to this case the Editor of *The Lancet* observes (Oct. 30, 1841),

"The Act of 1815 has assumed a new form. Hitherto it has been viewed by many as an useless document, or even as an instrument of mischief. By several it has been felt to be a law of oppression and injustice, and the earlier decisions of the judges against Surgeons and Physicians, while the unqualified Druggist was allowed to practise with impunity, were regarded as offences against common sense and justice, which few honest hearts could tolerate. Men of rank and medical education were prosecuted by the Company, while the uneducated pretender revelled in success and luxury."

This then was the construction put upon the Act, which had never been deviated from during the space of twenty-six years, at the end of which period the Court of Queen's Bench set the old words to a new tune. It must be clear to every reflecting mind that the lawyers who framed the words, performed the task with consummate skill, since they obtained credit from both parties at the time, and paved the way for a rich harvest for the members of the legal profession. The intention of the legislature was so well understood when the law was passed, that the words were interpreted by all parties in their true and literal sense, but it was policy in the lawyers to have a double meaning in reserve for their own future benefit.

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\* See pages 31, 37, &c.

On the 23d of February, 1841, a meeting, convened by Mr. Warington, for the purpose of taking into consideration the formation of a CHEMICAL SOCIETY, was held in the rooms of the Society of Arts.

The meeting was attended by several professors and other scientific men, and a society was established

"For the advancement of Chemistry, and those branches of science immediately connected with it; for the communication and discussion of discoveries and observations relating to such subjects; the formation of a library of scientific works, and a museum of chemical preparations and standard instruments."

On the 30th of March, Professor Graham was appointed president; Professor Brande, J. F. Cooper, Esq., Professor Daniell, and R. Phillips, Esq., vice-presidents; Arthur Aikin, Esq., treasurer; E. F. Teschemacher and Robert Warington, secretaries. The council consisted of Dr. T. Clark, Professor J. Cumming, Dr. C. Daubeny, T. Everitt, Esq., T. Griffiths, Esq., W. R. Grove, Esq., H. Hennell, Esq., G. Lowe, Esq., Professor W. H. Miller, W. H. Pepys, Esq., R. Porrett, Esq., Dr. G. O. Rees.

At that time the members amounted to seventy-seven, and the society has continued to increase and flourish. Its object being purely scientific, it numbers among its members men in various professions, who are devoted to the study of Chemistry, and embraces within its sphere every department of that science.

The origin and progress of Apothecaries Hall having been noticed in general terms, it appears requisite to give a brief description of the establishment in its mature condition. In the 16th volume of the Quarterly Journal of the Royal Institution, the desired information is contained, in an article by Professor Brande, who has described the laboratories and apparatus in terms so concise and perspicuous that the substance of it is annexed as a quotation. A few improvements have subsequently taken place in some of the details, but the following account will serve to give a sufficiently correct idea of the extent and capabilities of the institution:

"The principal laboratory is a brick building about fifty feet square and thirty high, lighted from above and sub-divided by a brick wall into two compartments, the dimensions of the larger one being fifty feet by thirty; and of the smaller fifty feet by twenty. The former may properly be termed the *chemical laboratory*, all the open fires and furnaces being situated in it, and all operations requiring intense heat being there conducted. The latter is usually termed the *still-house*, all distillations and evaporations being performed there, exclusively by steam, which is furnished in a manner afterwards to be described. Immediately connected with the above mentioned building is a *chemical warehouse* for such articles as are in immediate consumption in the laboratory, above which is a small house for a clerk, the whole being shut off from the laboratory by iron doors. The principal entrance to the chemical laboratory is through the *mortar-room*, which is forty



feet long and twenty-two broad, and appropriated to mortars, presses, and generally speaking to all mechanical operations performed by manual labour. At its eastern extremity is a large drying-stove, heated by flues, for the desiccation of those articles which cannot be dried conveniently at a temperature easily obtained by steam. At the west end of this apartment a room twenty-two feet by fifteen is divided off, in which is an apparatus for the production of gas from oil, with which the hall and its various departments both externally and internally are lighted.\* Above the mortar-room is a gallery fitted with shelves for various utensils and apparatus opening at one end into a room appropriated to the use of the labourers, and at the other into the *test-room*, a small laboratory fitted up with the requisite apparatus, for minute and delicate investigations, and in which chemical tests and other articles requiring peculiar attention and cleanliness are prepared. Annexed to the *gas-room* is a counting-house, behind which a room, twenty-two feet square, commonly called the *magnesia-room*, is appropriated to the preparation of that article, and also to the manufacture of the most common saline preparations.

"In a detached building there is a steam-engine of eight horse power, which is employed, with proper machinery, for grinding, sifting, nitrating, pounding, and a variety of other operations. There are also connected with the establishment suitable warehouses, shops, and all other requisite conveniences for carrying on an extensive trade.

"In the construction of the new laboratory safety is insured by the whole being fire-proof, and it is ventilated by a series of apertures in the roof, which may be opened or closed at pleasure. The main chimney is erected in the centre and has, opening into it below the pavement of the laboratory, four large flues, one of which enters upon each side of its square base. The shaft is one hundred feet high from the foundation and is accessible in its interior from one of the underground flues. The flues of the furnaces, which are placed against the walls of the laboratory, are each supplied with registers and open into a common channel, which surrounds the building, terminating in the chimney as already described. Each of the four large flues has also a separate register, which may be more or less closed, or opened according to the operations which are going on in the various furnaces connected with it. The furnaces thus arranged are, A subliming apparatus for benzoic acid. A furnace for the preparation of sulphate of mercury. A high pressure steam-boiler. A reverberatory furnace. A sand-bath. An apparatus for muriatic acid. Ditto for nitric acid. Ditto for the distillation of hartshorn, and a calcining furnace. There are also a series of furnaces built against the sides of the main chimney, and communicating directly with it by flues of their own, which, as well as the common openings by which they enter the chimney, are supplied with effectual registers, so that when not in use they may be perfectly closed. Of these furnaces four are chiefly employed for various sublimations and fusions; four more retort-pots. The third side of the chimney is occupied by a powerful wind furnace, and the fourth by a furnace for the sublimation of calomel. In this laboratory there is, moreover, a very plentiful supply of water both hot and cold; and an engine hose and pipe is always attached to the water-main in case of accident by fire, as well as for the purpose of cleansing the pavement. Beneath the building are extensive vaults for fuel, with which there is a direct communication by steps descending in one of the angles of the laboratory.

"The *still-house* contains six stills of various dimensions and constructions,

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In 1816, coal-gas was made on the premises for illumination; in 1819, this was replaced by the oil-gas apparatus, which was discontinued in 1838, the gas being laid on from without. In the same year, a well (300 feet deep) was sunk, which supplies the establishment with water.

twelve pans or boilers, and a drying stove, all of which are exclusively heated by steam supplied from an eight hundred gallon copper-boiler placed in an annexed building below the level of the still-house; and the flue of which, passing under the pavement of the laboratories, enters the main chimney already described. The boiler is calculated to supply steam under a pressure of an atmosphere and a-half, and is fed with hot-water by a forcing pump kept in constant operation by the steam-engine.

"The main steam pipes, after ascending from the boiler, send off descending branches which ramify under the pavement of the still-house in channels of brick-work, covered by cast-iron plates. These send off a steam pipe, fitted with a register cock, to each still and boiler, from which there passes off an eduction or condensed water-pipe entering the condensed water main, the ramifications of which accompany the steam main and deliver their contents into a cistern, whence the boiler is supplied with hot water. A large branch of the steam-pipe circulates in five convolutions at the bottom of the drying stove so as to heat a current of air, which is made to pass through it; and another branch arising perpendicularly through the pavement is properly fitted with cocks and screws for the occasional attachment of leaden or other pipes, for boiling down liquids in moveable pans and vessels.

"In this building one of the stills is of a distinct construction and heated by high pressure steam, supplied from the boiler already mentioned in the description of the laboratory. Another still together with its condensing pipe is composed entirely of earthenware. The former is chiefly used for the first distillation of sulphuric ether, and the latter for that of spirit of nitric ether. The stills and vessels are generally heated by the circulation of steam upon their exterior, but sometimes serpentine pipes traversing the liquor are employed. In the still-house all spirits and waters are distilled; extracts and plaisters are prepared, and all operations are carried on which involve risk by fire or in which damage is likely to occur from excess of heat. The magnesia-room contains proper vats and boilers for the production and evaporation of saline solutions; the apparatus for the precipitation of carbonate of magnesia and a series of vessels for saturating alkalies with carbonic acid."

In the commencement of the year 1839, a commotion arose among the Assistants of the Druggists and Apothecaries of London, who held several meetings for the purpose of taking into consideration the hardships they suffered on account of their close confinement during every day in the week, Sundays included, and the want of that recreation which their bodily health and mental improvement required. It was urged as an anomaly which demanded an effectual remedy, that while the Pharmaceutical Assistants were labouring to provide for the health of the public, they were sacrificing their own; and that while they were engaged in an occupation in which the cultivation of their minds in the study of Chemistry and other sciences was essential, their whole time was occupied in the mechanical druggery of the shop, which precluded the possibility of acquiring the needful education. A Committee was appointed, and after several discussions had taken place, a memorial was sent round to the Principals, respectfully representing the grievances complained of, and requesting them to call a meeting of the trade for the purpose of providing a remedy.

Accordingly, a meeting was held on the 18th of February,

1839, at which the opinions on both sides of the question were fully and fairly stated. Many of the masters advocated warmly the expediency of adopting to a certain extent the measures proposed by the Committee of Assistants, closing the shops at an earlier hour every evening (except Saturday) and keeping them entirely closed on Sundays. Others considered that, however expedient this regulation might appear, it was nevertheless impracticable, on account of the impossibility of compelling all parties to adhere to it, and also from the difficulty of making any law in a case of this kind which would be applicable to all parts of London, it being well known, that in some localities, business in general is in the height of activity at the time in the evening at which, in other localities, almost every shop is closed. The hardships detailed by the Assistants were admitted to be great and pressing, and the desire to provide a remedy was only equalled by the difficulty of finding one.

After a long debate it was decided, that the meeting had not the power of enforcing the cessation of business at an earlier hour in the evening; but a general opinion prevailed that this would be very desirable wherever it could be effected. A resolution was unanimously passed, recommending the entire closing of shops and the discouragement of all business, except in cases of absolute necessity, on Sunday. A Committee was appointed to carry out this resolution, and bills were printed and circulated extensively among the trade, containing a copy of the resolution, and a brief statement of the facts which had led to it, which bills were designed to obtain the concurrence of the public in the measure. A considerable number of Chemists acted upon this resolution, which came into operation on the first Sunday in March.

In some instances, however, the adherence to the regulation was but ephemeral; the Assistants, in several establishments, complained of the darkness of the shop; and said, that their labour was considerably increased by the trouble of opening the door for every customer. They, therefore, requested that the door-shutters might be removed, and the new regulation was laid aside. In other cases the regulation was violated without any reason being assigned, which gave offence to many of those who had adhered to their resolution, some of whom followed the example. The result was generally considered an illustration of the difficulty of legislating for a large body of men, in a matter in which individual interests and local circumstances are likely to interfere. A considerable number have continued, up to the present time, to close their shops on Sundays, and have had no reason to regret so doing. The credit of drawing the attention of the Assistants to the subject belongs to Mr. Hewett, the Secretary of the Committee, and Mr. Fuller, who acted as Chairman. Mr. Payne,

Mr. Hallows, and the late Mr. Hudson, took an active part in the proceedings.

In the year 1841, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Ewart, and Mr. Hutton endeavoured to reform the profession by introducing a bill which was printed in the beginning of February. It having been generally understood that no material change would take place in the Pharmaceutical department, the Chemists took little or no interest in the measures in progress.

The Patent Medicine Vendors had, however, already exerted their influence in obtaining the insertion of a clause which secured to them all their former privileges, and an exemption from any interference; but the Chemists and Druggists remained inactive, until the bill had been published and circulated. It was then discovered that the contemplated measures were very different from those which had been advocated by the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee. Before recording the proceedings of the Chemists and Druggists, it may be as well to state briefly the grounds of their opposition to the Bill.

In the interpretation clause, it is stated, that

The words "Practising Medicine," shall be construed to include within their meaning, the recommending, prescribing or ordering, either directly or indirectly, any medicine, remedy or application whatsoever, for the relief or cure of any disorder, ailment, or illness of the body or mind, or any part thereof, or performing any surgical operation minor or capital, or practising midwifery: and the words "Medical Practitioner," shall mean a person qualified under this act to practise medicine: and that the words "Chemist and Druggist," shall mean a person who shall sell, deal in, mix or dispense for sale any drug or medicine for the cure or relief of any bodily disorder, ailment or illness, save and except such person as shall have obtained a certificate to practise medicine.

It was provided (sec. 33),

That no male person whatsoever, on or after the 1st day of February, 1842, be permitted to practise medicine for remuneration or gain, either directly or indirectly in any part of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, unless such person shall have obtained a certificate to practise the same according to the provisions of this Act; nor shall any person whatsoever, on or after the first day of December, 1842, be entitled or permitted to carry on the trade or business of a Chemist and Druggist in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, unless such person shall have obtained a licence to carry on the said trade and business according to the provisions of this Act.

The licence to be renewed annually on payment of a fee.

**Sec. 48.** Every person not being duly qualified according to the provisions of this Act, who shall practise medicine for remuneration or gain, either directly or indirectly, or who shall carry on the trade and business of a Chemist and Druggist, shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, the sum of *Twenty Pounds*.

The penalty for employing an Assistant, not duly qualified according to the provisions of the Act, was stated at *Ten Pounds*.

Sec. 51. In every case of the adjudication of a pecuniary penalty under this Act, and non-payment thereof, it shall be lawful for the magistrate to commit the offender to any gaol or house of correction within his jurisdiction.

Coupling the definition of the term *practising medicine* with the clauses inflicting a penalty or imprisonment, for practising without a certificate, it is clear that a Chemist would be liable to a penalty of twenty pounds for recommending ten grains of rhubarb, strapping a cut finger, or explaining to a customer the usual mode of taking any medicine, however simple or innocuous, and that summary imprisonment (or a ruinous law-suit) would be the result of non-payment.

The constitution of the governing body was also objectionable :

A Council was to be elected in each kingdom every three years, twenty Councillors for each. The several universities and medical bodies to send each one member to their respective Councils, the other members to be elected by ballot. Every medical practitioner to have a vote.

Hence the general practitioners, the number of whom preponderates over all other medical bodies, would have a proportionate majority of votes.

Each Council to elect three persons every five years to form a medical senate. The senate to make by-laws to regulate the education of students and the examinations for diploma of qualification to practise medicine, or to carry on the trade of a Chemist and Druggist. The Council to appoint examiners annually.

Chemists and Druggists therefore would be under the jurisdiction of a body in which they were not represented, and in the election of which the Apothecaries had the largest number of votes.

Sec. 39. All persons, being at present Chemists and Druggists, or Assistants or Apprentices, claiming the exemption within twelve months, to obtain licences, and not to be called upon to renew them annually, unless they desire ; if they renew them, their names are to be published in the respective medical lists, and not otherwise.

Thus a Chemist and Druggist who claimed the exemption, would lose his rank altogether, his name being omitted in the list ; and if he claimed to be registered, he would forfeit the only privilege to which he was entitled from having been in business before the passing of the Act.

A few other objections of minor importance might have been enumerated, but the above constituted the chief ground of resistance on the part of the Chemists.

The credit of drawing the attention of the Trade to this Bill is due to Mr. Farmar, Mr. G. W. Smith, and Mr. Baxter, who met several times to consider the subject, in company with a few of their friends,

The following is a report of one of the meetings held at the house of Mr. Farmar :

At a meeting of Chemists and Druggists, held Feb. 10th, 1841, to take into consideration the draft of a Bill recently proposed by Mr. Hawes,

Mr. FARMAR in the chair.

Moved by Mr. G. W. Smith, seconded by Mr. Baxter, and *resolved*,

"That this bill having been introduced into the House of Commons, and having for its object an entire change in the present method of conducting the business of a Chemist and Druggist, this meeting deems it expedient that a public meeting of the members of the trade be forthwith held, to take into consideration the tendency of the provisions of the said bill."

Moved by Mr. Thomas Kent, seconded by Mr. S. M. Mayhew, and *resolved*,

"That a public meeting of the Chemists and Druggists of the metropolis be held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Monday, the 15th instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon."

Moved by Mr. Warboys, seconded by Mr. S. Weatherby, and *resolved*,

"That advertisements of the intended meeting be made in the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle* newspapers, and also that circulars be issued to as many of the Trade as may be practicable."

Moved by Mr. W. Lowe, seconded by Mr. Thomas Kent, and *resolved*,

"That Mr. William Allen of Plough Court, be requested to preside at the meeting."

"GEO. W. SMITH, *Secretary, pro tem.*"

Mr. Farmar and his friends lost no time in waiting on as many of their brethren as possible, in order to obtain signatures to the requisition, calling a public meeting. Although they met with but little encouragement they succeeded in obtaining a sufficient number of names, and issued the following circular :

"We, the undersigned, having seen with considerable alarm some clauses in a bill recently introduced into the House of Commons, and appointed for a second reading on Friday, Feb. 19th; such bill tending materially to injure the interests of Chemists and Druggists, do hereby invite a public meeting of the Members of the Trade, to be holden at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Monday the 15th instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to take into consideration the provisions of the said bill."

WM. ALLEN, HANBURY'S,	BARRON, HARVEY, and	HODGKINSON, STEAD, &
and BARRY	BARRON	TONGE
SAVORY, MOORE, & Co.	J. GIFFORD	HOWARD & COLEMAN
JOHN BELL and Co.	FISHER & TOLLER	DREW, HEYWARD, & Co.
GODFREY and COOKE	CHARLES DINNEFORD	THOS. MARSDEN & SONS
W. B. HUDSON and SON	GEORGE GRINDLE	EVANS & LESCHER
CORRYN & Co.	JOSEPH SMITH	JAS. METCALFE & SONS
PIGION and SON	JAMES STARKIE	BAISS, BROTHERS, & Co.
HERRING BROTHERS	W. WILLMOTT	ED. WINSTANLEY & SON
HORNER and SONS	R. YATE & SON	RICHARD BATTLE
ELLIS, LANGTON, & Co.		

It is a singular fact, that those whose names were attached to the circular had taken no part in the proceedings, while the names of the original movers and acting men were omitted. The object of this selection was to enlist in the work those members, both of the wholesale and retail Trade, whose interest it was thought de-

sirable at once to secure, and whose names were extensively known throughout the country.

It was in this manner that several of the members of the first Council of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY were induced to embark in an undertaking in which they had no desire to take a prominent part, but having been called together by the solicitations of others, and considering it their duty to unite with their brethren in any measures which, to the majority, might appear desirable, they found themselves obliged to continue their exertions in a manner which they had not at first anticipated.

At a large and influential public meeting of Chemists and Druggists, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, convened by advertisement, and held on Monday, February 15th, 1841, for the purpose of taking into consideration "A Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Medical Profession of Great Britain and Ireland," recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Hawes,

Mr. GIFFORD in the chair,

A letter having been read from William Allen, of Plough Court, excusing his absence, but sanctioning his appointment as member of any Committee, it was

Moved by Mr. Bell, seconded by Mr. Keating, *and resolved,*

"That the provisions of this bill deeply injure the interests and lessen the usefulness of Chemists and Druggists, as well as affect the comforts and resources of the poorer classes of society, whilst the immediate and pressing wants of individuals would create a liability to informations, which would be a source of unceasing vexation."

Moved by Mr. Barry, seconded by Mr. Farmar, *and resolved,*

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that Benjamin Hawes, as author of this bill, intituled 'A Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Medical Profession in Great Britain and Ireland,' should be requested to defer for one month the second reading, to enable the public and all parties interested to form their opinion upon its merits."

Moved by Mr. Walker, seconded by Mr. Ince, *and resolved,*

"That Petitions be immediately presented to Parliament against Mr Hawes's Bill, especially against that clause depriving Chemists and Druggists of their right to prescribe and recommend medicines."

Moved by Mr. Wilkinson, seconded by Mr. Mayhew, *and resolved,*

"That the following be a Committee, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of watching and opposing the progress of this bill, viz :—

WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S.  
JOSEPH GIFFORD  
JACOB BELL  
CHARLES DINNEFORD  
JOHN TOLLER  
JOSEPH SMITH  
RICHARD BATTLE  
JOHN T. BARRY  
JOHN ELLIS  
SAMUEL FOULGER  
WILLIAM LOWE

CHARLES DAVY  
EDWARD HORNER  
RICH. HOTHAM PIGEON  
THROWER HERRING  
CHARLES BARRON  
THOMAS HERRING  
THOMAS WALKER  
THOMAS KEATING  
EDWARD WINSTANLEY  
GEORGE WAUGH  
THOMAS BUTLER

SAMUEL M. MATHEW  
ROBERT FARMAR  
SAMUEL DE CASTRO  
SAMUEL GREEN  
EDWARD SIMKIN  
WILLIAM INCE  
EDWIN BRIGGS  
GEORGE BAXTER  
J. S. LESCHER  
G. W. SMITH  
RALPH STAMPER

## 70 COMMITTEE OF CHEMISTS & DRUGGISTS CONCERT MEASURES.

Moved by Mr. Dinneford, seconded by Mr. Austin, *and resolved*,

"That Mr. R. H. Pigeon be appointed treasurer, and subscriptions solicited from all the Chemists and Druggists of the United Kingdom."

Moved by Mr. Keating, seconded by Mr. Watts, *and resolved*,

"That a copy of these proceedings be printed, and sent to every member of the drug trade in town and country, and also be published in the newspapers."

Moved by Mr. Herring, seconded by Mr. Farmar, *and resolved*,

"That the best thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for the official performance of his duties."

The above resolutions gave rise to a very animated discussion, and, although on minor particulars a little difference of opinion was occasionally expressed, there was but one individual present who stood up in support of the bill. This gentleman had been deputed by Mr. Hawes to attend the meeting, in order to explain any clauses in the bill which might require elucidation, and the able manner in which he performed the task deserves to be recorded. In a large assembly, in which considerable agitation and enthusiasm prevailed, in which the bill was denounced in no measured terms, and each sally of criticism was followed by applause, this champion stood up, unmoved, and in a calm and temperate manner, expatiated on the various clauses, for the purpose of proving that the bill, instead of being injurious, was, in fact, intended as a boon to Chemists and Druggists—that it was calculated to raise their standing in the profession, to increase their influence and extend their business. The meeting listened with as much complaisance as could be expected on such an occasion, under the impression that the speaker was the legal adviser of Mr. Hawes, but no change of sentiment was the result, as the data on which the chief arguments were founded were hypothetical, whilst the objections against the Bill were felt to be unanswerable by all present, except the speaker.

Immediately after the meeting, the Committee assembled, and resolved that 3000 copies of the resolutions should be printed and circulated, and the Report advertised. Mr. Alderman Thomas Wood was engaged as solicitor, and J. Sidney Taylor, Esq. was retained as counsel. A circular was drawn up to accompany the resolutions, calling upon the members of the trade to unite in raising subscriptions, and preparing a petition to Parliament. This appeal was answered by a voluminous correspondence from all quarters, accompanied by subscriptions from many places. The Committee met on the following day, February 16, at the house of Mr. Pigeon, in Throgmorton Street, when a letter from Mr. Ewart was read, stating that the second reading of the bill would not take place on the 19th. Mr. Pound was added to the Committee, and a Sub-Committee was appointed to draw up a petition, and also to wait upon Mr. Hawes.



An interview having been granted, the Sub-Committee detailed their objections to the bill, requested that the second reading might be delayed for at least a month, and that a clause should be inserted exempting Chemists and Druggists from the operation of the bill. Mr. Hawes introduced his friend Mr. Cooper, whom the Committee recognised as being the gentleman who had fought the battle so ably single-handed at the public meeting, and who it appeared was not a legal but a medical practitioner. Mr. Cooper acquiesced in the propriety of delay, and Mr. Hawes offered to expunge every clause in which Chemists were mentioned, but the insertion of a new clause, similar to that in the Act of 1815, was objected to.

At a meeting of the Committee on February 22, the Solicitor reported, that Mr. Hawes had withdrawn his bill, and also that the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and the Society of Apothecaries contemplated the introduction of a bill for the Regulation of the Profession. A Sub-Committee was appointed, which met on the 5th of March, and instructed the Secretary to address the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, requesting an interview with each of those learned bodies.

The deputation waited on the College of Surgeons on the 9th of March, by appointment, and opened the discussion by inquiring whether the college was opposed to the principles of the bill of Mr. Hawes? and whether the three medical bodies were, as had been reported, preparing a bill in which the interests of Chemists and Druggists were concerned? The President replied that the College had petitioned against Mr. Hawes' bill; but did not intend to take any active measures on the subject of medical reform. It was their desire to confine their proceedings to their own department—pure surgery. They declined interfering in any way with Pharmacy, which they left in the hands of the Physicians, Apothecaries, and Druggists.

*In their official capacity as Surgeons* they did not pretend to be able to distinguish one drug from another, and trusted to those whose duty it was to prepare their prescriptions.

On the 8th of March the general Committee met, and the solicitor presented a copy of a modified bill just introduced by Mr. Hawes. This bill was considered no less objectionable than its predecessor; for, although the clauses relating to Chemists and Druggists had been expunged, no provision was made for the regulation of that body, and some parts of the bill were *indirectly* prejudicial. The solicitor was, therefore, instructed to prepare a petition against the bill for presentation to both Houses of Parliament. Mr. Morson was added to the Committee.

On the 10th of March the Sub-Committee adopted a form of petition, which was prepared for signature, and the Secretary was

instructed to forward printed copies to every town in the kingdom, for the signature of the Chemists in their respective localities.

The Sub-Committee waited on the College of Physicians, by appointment, on the 10th of March, and was informed that the College had opposed the former bill of Mr. Hawes, and intended to oppose the one then before the House. The College had consulted with the Apothecaries' Company on the subject of a bill, but had not as yet come to any determination on the subject. The members of the College had no wish to interfere with Chemists and Druggists. They thought it evident that some adequate education and an examination should be instituted, and proposed to form a board in conjunction with the Apothecaries' Company for that purpose. To this the deputation objected, stating that a board composed of Physicians and Chemists would be more satisfactory. The Physicians replied, that they had no desire to take an active part in the examination of Chemists, and their only reason for proposing to join in it was that they might satisfy themselves that it was efficiently conducted. They inquired whether the deputation had any definite plan to lay before them; and being informed that the arrangements were not yet matured, they expressed their willingness to confer with the deputation at a future time when they were prepared with a definite proposition.

At a meeting of the general Committee, March 20, the Chairman (Mr. Gifford) reported that the metropolitan petition, with 604 signatures, had been presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Alderman Thompson, and that when the Speaker inquired whether any members had petitions to present against the bill, above half the House rose simultaneously, and a shower of petitions covered the table. The House was afterwards counted out. The Committee instructed the solicitor to watch the further progress of the bill. On the 2d of April Messrs. Savory, Squire, Hudson, and Alsop were added to the Committee and also to the Sub-Committee.

During the numerous meetings of the Committee (of which the above is a considerably abridged report) the propriety of establishing a society was frequently suggested; but it was found impossible in an open Committee to come to an unanimous decision on the details of so important a measure.

The subject, however, was not forgotten, and the Members of the Committee saw plainly that nothing short of a permanent Association could secure the Trade against a recurrence of the inconveniences and annoyances which it had from time to time experienced during the last half century. An opportunity was within their reach, which might not speedily occur again. A correspondence had been opened with the Chemists in all parts

of the country on a subject in which all their interests were concerned; in the excitement occasioned by the threatened blow at their independence, minor considerations were forgotten; and all appeared disposed cordially to unite in promoting the general welfare. So little intercourse had hitherto existed among the members of the body, that a degree of coolness and distrust had been unfortunately too prevalent; and the failure of all former attempts to form an efficient society had been, in a great measure, occasioned by the division of that influence which ought to have been united and directed with energy to this one object. But in the present crisis, jealousy seemed to be forgotten, and the necessity of union was so obvious that the first step appeared to be accomplished.

The ground upon which the late attempts had been made to interfere with Chemists and Druggists, had reference to their amount of professional qualification, although the arguments brought forward against them assumed a variety of forms, and were in many cases unjust and intemperate. However galling it might be to bear the taunts and imputations, there was no escape while the fact was notorious that no institution existed in this country for the systematic education and examination of Chemists and Druggists, and whilst no proof could be advanced that each individual possessed the needful qualification.

It was evident that Pharmacy must be placed on a more scientific footing, and that some measures would speedily be adopted for introducing an improved system of education. It was, therefore, the policy of the Druggists to anticipate what was about to take place, and instead of wasting their time in fruitless controversy, to give a practical answer to all objections by establishing a system of government for themselves which could admit of no reproach.

The prospect of attaining this object opened out a new field of interest, and some members of the Committee who had been in the first instance induced reluctantly to join it, by the earnest solicitations of their brethren, entered into the subject with increased spirit when the opportunity of raising the professional character of their body presented itself. But the task was one which required the most mature deliberation and unwearied perseverance. The members of the Committee were not unanimous either as to the details of the plan or the mode of accomplishing it, and there was every reason to anticipate still greater difficulty in amalgamating the various opinions of the body at large on so intricate and momentous a question.

On the 20th of March, 1841, several members of the Committee met at a Pharmaceutical tea-party, at the house of one of their number (Mr. Bell, Oxford Street), and after having

discussed the subject in a friendly manner, agreed to a few resolutions as the basis of the new society. Several other meetings of this unofficial character took place, at each of which other members were added to the number, until twenty-four of the Committee were unanimous on the general principles of the Association. During these deliberations it was found difficult to decide what relation the society should bear to the medical profession, and whether it should be a body entirely independent, or in some degree connected with the College of Physicians or the London University. Some of the leading members of the profession were consulted on these points, but so great a difference of opinion, was found to exist, that the Committee abandoned the prospect of receiving any assistance from the Profession, and determined to create an independent body.

The abstract principles of the Association having been maturely considered by the Sub-committee, the subject was referred to the General Committee on the 5th of April, and the following resolutions were unanimously carried :

"1st. That the permanent interests of Chemists and Druggists require that they shall immediately form themselves into a society.

"2d. That this Society be forthwith formed under the title of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

"3d. That the Society consist, in the first instance, of such established Chemists and Druggists as shall voluntarily come forward in aid of its objects and intentions.

"4th. That the object of the Society be, To benefit the public, and elevate the profession of Pharmacy, by furnishing the means of proper instruction—To protect the collective and individual interests and privileges of all its Members, in the event of any hostile attack in Parliament or otherwise—To establish a club for the relief of decayed or distressed Members.

"5th. That at a general meeting of Chemists and Druggists, to be convened for the purpose of forming an outline of the Society, a Committee be appointed to frame such laws and regulations as may appear desirable for the attainment of the objects intended, which laws, &c. shall be afterwards discussed and completed at another general meeting of the Members."

In accordance with these resolutions a public meeting was convened at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 15th of April, at which the Committee presented the following report :

Your Committee, immediately upon their appointment, opened a communication with the Chemists and Druggists of every town in England, and of some towns in Ireland and Scotland, requesting the co-operation of the members of the trade, and soliciting subscriptions to enable them to offer the most powerful and effectual opposition to Mr. Hawes's bill ; and your Committee had the satisfaction of receiving, not only promises of support, but liberal subscriptions from many places.

Agreeably with the instructions of the general meeting, your Committee proceeded to the appointment of a deputation, for the purpose of conferring with Mr. Hawes, on the subject of postponing the second reading of his bill ; to which request Mr. Hawes readily acceded, and also undertook to erase from the said bill every clause having special reference to the Chemists and Druggists.

Upon the introduction of Mr. Hawes's second bill, your Committee, acting under the advice of their counsel and solicitor, determined to offer it their most powerful opposition, as the provisions of the latter bill had an injurious power over the interests of the Chemists and Druggists equal with that of the former.

Your Committee, through their solicitor, thereupon required of Mr. Hawes that he should insert a protective and explanatory clause, which should render the bill totally inoperative upon the interests of Chemists and Druggists. To this Mr. Hawes has assented; and should the bill pass a second reading the said clause will be duly inserted.

Your Committee, however, are bound by parliamentary usage to offer an opposition to the second reading of the bill, and they have caused a petition to be presented in the House of Commons against the measure.

They have also sent a copy of the same to almost every town in England, requiring the members of the trade, in the various localities, to forward a petition, on their own parts, against the bill, and to instruct their representatives in the same opposition. Your Committee had the satisfaction of finding that, upon a second reading of the bill being attempted, a large number of petitions were presented against it, and the House was "counted out." Your Committee, though warranted in expressing an opinion that this bill will not pass, are yet aware of the undiminished necessity of watching any further attempts to accomplish that object.

In the progress of their proceedings your Committee ascertained that the College of Physicians, the College of Surgeons, and the Apothecaries' Company, had conjointly proposed obtaining some legislative enactment, by which the Chemists and Druggists were to be, for the future, placed under the government and control of these learned bodies, more especially of the Society of Apothecaries.

A deputation from your Committee, therefore, sought and obtained an interview with the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons, respectively, and received from the former an official notification that it was their intention to introduce into their proposed measures of medical reform, a provision by which the Chemists and Druggists should thenceforth be placed under some legislative control; and your Committee have, therefore, again assembled you for the purpose of receiving new instructions and enlarged powers to meet present and future circumstances.

Your Committee having considered the subject, are of opinion that the Chemists and Druggists are capable of self-government; they, therefore, recommend that the Chemists and Druggists of the empire should immediately form themselves into a permanent Association, to be denominated the "PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN," having for its object the union of the members of the trade into one body—the protection of the general interests—and the improvement and advancement of scientific knowledge. As the basis of such union, your Committee would recommend the adoption of education, examination, registration, and representation as involving beneficial results to the public in general, and to the Chemists and Druggists in particular; and offering to the existing medical corporations, and to the medical profession at large, a guarantee, that whilst the Chemists and Druggists are anxious to retain their present privileges, they are disposed to afford every public evidence of their fitness to exercise them.

JOSEPH GIFFORD, *Chairman.*

At a public meeting of the members of the Trade, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Thursday, April 15th inst.,

R. H. PIGSON, Esq., in the chair,  
the foregoing report having been read, it was

Moved by Mr. Payne, seconded by Mr. Wilkinson, *and resolved*,

"That this report be received, and the best thanks of this meeting be given to the Committee for their past exertions."

Moved by Mr. Dinneford, seconded by Mr. Hudson, *and resolved*,

"That the report be printed, and circulated at the discretion of the Committee."

Moved by William Allen, F.R.S., seconded by John Bell, *and resolved*,

"That for the purpose of protecting the permanent interests, and increasing the respectability of Chemists and Druggists, an Association be now formed under the title of the "PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN."

Moved by Mr. Morson, seconded by Mr. Davy, *and resolved*,

"That the present Committee be requested to frame laws and regulations for the government of the society, to be laid before the next meeting of the Members for confirmation and adoption."

Moved by Mr. Savory, seconded by Mr. Gifford, *and resolved*,

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Richard Hotham Pigeon, Esq., for the able and satisfactory performance of the duties of Chairman; and also for having afforded every accommodation to the Committee in their meetings at his house in Throgmorton Street."

Nearly 100 signatures were obtained at the close of the meeting to a declaration which stated, that the undersigned constituted themselves Members of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

#### LIST OF COMMITTEE.

ALLEN, WILLIAM, F.R.S., Plough Court; ALBOP, ROBERT, 15, Sloane Square, Chelsea; BARRON, CHARLES, 6, Giltspur Street; BARRY, JOHN T., Plough Court; BATTLE, RICHARD, 32, Lower Whitecross Street; BAXTER, GEORGE, 144, High Holborn; BELL, JACOB, 538, Oxford Street; BRIGGS, EDWIN, 48, Wigmore Street; BUTLER, THOMAS, 4, Cheapside; DAVY, CHARLES, 100, Upper Thames Street; DE CASTRO, SAMUEL, 25, Great St. George's Place, Knightsbridge; DINNEFORD, CHARLES, 172, New Bond Street; ELLIS, JOHN, 225, Upper Thames Street; FARMAR, ROBERT A., 40, Westminster Road; FOULGER, SAMUEL, 133, Ratcliffe Highway; GIFFORD, JOSEPH, 104, Strand; GREEN, SAMUEL, 1, Harleyford Place, Kennington; HANBURY, DANIEL, Plough Court; HERRING, THOMAS, 40, Aldersgate Street; HORNER, EDWARD, 20, Bucklersbury; HUDSON, WILLIAM B., 27, Haymarket; INCE, WILLIAM, 31, Southampton Street, Covent Garden; KEATING, THOMAS, 79, St. Paul's Churchyard; LESCHER, J. S., 4, Cripplegate Buildings; LOWE, WILLIAM, 47, Blackfriars' Road; MAYHEW, SAMUEL, M., Camberwell Green; MORSON, THOMAS, 19, Southampton Row; PAYNE, CHARLES JAMES, 5, St. Martin's Court; PIGEON, RICHARD HOTHAM, 31, Throgmorton Street; POUND, MATTHEW, 198, Oxford Street; SAVORY, JOHN, 143, Bond Street; SIMKIN, EDWARD, 2, New Cavendish Street, Portland Place; SMITH, JOSEPH, 29, Haymarket; SMITH, GEORGE W., 125, Lower Thames Street; SQUIRE, PETER, 277, Oxford Street; STAMPER, RALPH, 140, Leadenhall Street; TOLLER, JOHN, 18, Conduit Street; WALKER, THOMAS, 48, Tooley Street; WAUGH, GEORGE, 177, Regent Street; WINSTANLEY, EDWARD, 7, Poultry.

Immediately after the meeting, the Committee assembled, and ordered 5000 copies of the Report to be printed and circulated. Mr. G. W. Smith was appointed Secretary, conjointly with Mr. Farmar, and Mr. Payne was added to the Committee.

The consideration of the laws was referred to the Sub-Committee, and, on the 27th of April, a draft of the same, which had

been prepared for discussion, was ordered to be printed: frequent meetings took place, during which every clause was discussed and canvassed in all its bearings; a variety of amendments were made, and, on the 25th of May, the Laws were submitted to the General Committee in their complete state.

During the period in which the laws were in course of preparation, which occupied nearly two months, enquiries were not unfrequently made by those who were not on the Committee, respecting the progress of the society, and surprise was expressed at the apparent cessation of the work which had been undertaken. The excitement which had been occasioned by Mr. Hawes's bill had in some measure subsided, when that measure was withdrawn; the official correspondence had almost ceased, and it was feared that an impression might prevail that the project was falling to the ground.

In order to keep up the interest in what was going on, and to promote the good feeling which had recently been evinced by the members of the trade, a pharmaceutical meeting was held on the 11th of May, at 338, Oxford Street, to which medical men as well as Chemists and Druggists were invited. A paper, on the Constitution of the Pharmaceutical Society, was read; and, at the suggestion of several persons present, a few copies were printed and circulated. An opportunity was afforded on the above occasion of explaining the measures which were in progress for the establishment of the society, and the favourable reception which this explanation met with, together with the good attendance at the meeting, more than realized the objects for which it was held; and five other meetings for the discussion of subjects relating to Pharmacy were announced as an experiment, with a view to the permanent establishment of similar scientific assemblies by the society.

On the 25th of May, the general Committee having discussed and approved the laws which had been prepared by the Subcommittee, resolved to convene a public meeting of the Members, which was held at the Crown and Anchor, on Tuesday, the 1st of June, and at which they presented the following REPORT, together with the draft of the Laws:

Agreeably with your instructions and in conformity with the principles laid down in the last report, your Committee have prepared the fundamental laws of the Pharmaceutical Society in such a manner as shall leave to every one; whether Principal, Assistant, or Apprentice, all rights and privileges enjoyed by his predecessors; whilst regulations are proposed which shall assure to the public and the profession the competence of such Chemists and Druggists as shall be members of this Society.

The unanimity which prevails among Chemists and Druggists, upon the expediency and necessity of establishing an Association for the purpose of protecting their interests, induces the Committee to hope that the same unity of sentiment will prevail in carrying out the details of this important measure.

The influence which Chemists and Druggists possess as a body when their efforts are combined, has been demonstrated in a manner which affords every encouragement to perseverance. It is equally manifest, that if they relax in their exertions, or allow any minor considerations to interfere with the zealous and harmonious performance of the duty which they owe to themselves, they will inevitably sacrifice their independence and be deprived of many of their existing privileges, by becoming subject to extraneous jurisdiction. It must be recollected that the Society is of a PUBLIC nature, and involves the prosperity of Chemists and Druggists as a body throughout the kingdom. It is only by the combined and continued efforts of individuals that a scheme so comprehensive and laborious can be effected; and these efforts to be successful, must be supported by all those who are interested in its accomplishment.

In drawing up the fundamental regulations of the Society, your Committee have carefully guarded against the possibility of those abuses which have often arisen in similar institutions; and while they have vested in the Council sufficient powers to render their services effective, they have made them entirely responsible to, and to be elected by, the members at large.

To Chemists and Druggists now established, this Society offers the means of extending pharmaceutical knowledge by the establishment of a recognised medium through which discoveries and improvements may be promulgated; whilst the institution of a school of pharmacy—the development of scientific acquirements, and the exhibition of existing talent, will tend to confirm the confidence of the public, and remove our apparent deficiency as pharmacopoeists, when compared with other nations.

To Assistants it will afford the means of practical improvement, and an opportunity of obtaining honorary distinction.

To Apprentices the Society offers an immediate recognition of their admission to the trade, and holds out a sufficient inducement for industrious and studious habits, by affording the prospect of participation in the elevated position and character which will hereafter appertain to those who practise pharmacy.

The course of education proposed, embraces only such subjects as should be known by every person presuming to dispense prescriptions; and though at the outset it would not be stringently enforced, it will be the duty of the Council to extend the examination as circumstances may require.

By the regulations under the head of Education and Examination, all existing Chemists and Druggists have the opportunity of escaping any restriction or ordeal which may be imposed upon their successors; and in order to enjoy this exemption, nothing is demanded from them but that they shall unite in supporting an institution which the protection of their interests has rendered necessary.

The establishment of an examination in the classics for all future Apprentices, will ensure the possession of that preliminary education which is essentially necessary for the creditable performance of their duties, and their ultimate success as pharmacutists; and the increased importance and respectability which will be conferred upon pharmacy by means of this Society will induce many of the more wealthy classes to devote themselves to its pursuit.

In order to establish among the Chemists and Druggists of the empire a substantial and permanent bond of union, and also to supply a deficiency which has hitherto existed, your Committee recommend the foundation of a fund for the relief of the distressed, the widow, and the orphan; and, taking encouragement from the example and success of other bodies, they trust that this collateral object of the Society will obtain universal support.

The Committee have the satisfaction of stating, that a communication has been received from Paris, intimating a desire, on the part of some of the leading members of the Society of Pharmacy in that city, to establish a scientific correspondence with "THE PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT



BRITAIN," and overtures of a similar character have been made on behalf of the College of Pharmacy in Philadelphia. The Chemists and Druggists of Scotland and Ireland have also expressed considerable interest in the undertaking.

Your Committee, therefore, congratulate you on the circumstance, that, although the Chemists and Druggists of Great Britain united in the first instance merely for the purpose of self-defence, in support of their acknowledged rights, that union has resulted in the creation of a National Institution for the advancement of Pharmacy, which will be enabled to carry on a correspondence with similar institutions throughout the world.

The establishment of such correspondence—the formation of this Institution—and the successful result of the opposition to the bill of Mr. Hawes, will ever be regarded by your Committee as a gratifying recompense for their past exertions.

JOSEPH GIFFORD, *Chairman.*

R. H. PIGEON, Esq., took the chair,

And the report of the Committee having been read, it was

Moved by Mr. Savory, seconded by Mr. Morson, *and resolved unanimously,*

"That the report now read be adopted and printed for circulation."

The Laws of THE PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY having been submitted to the meeting, it was

Moved by William Allen, F.R.S, seconded by John Bell, *and resolved unanimously,*

"That the Laws now read be passed under their separate heads."

Moved by Mr. Keating, seconded by Mr. Dinneford, *and resolved unanimously,*

"That the Laws now read and passed be adopted as the Laws of 'THE PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.'"

Moved by Mr. Hulse, seconded by Mr. Yarde, *and resolved unanimously,*

"That the several members of the Committee be the first Council of the Society, and do continue in office, exercising all the functions and duties provided by the Laws of the Institution, until the general meeting in May, 1842; from which period the Council shall consist of twenty-one Members only, to be elected according to the Laws."

Moved by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Butler, *and resolved unanimously,*

"That Messrs. Hallows, Redwood, Yarde, F. J. Bell, and Edwards be appointed Auditors."

Moved by Mr. Hallows, seconded by Mr. Edwards, *and resolved unanimously,*

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Metropolitan Committee, for their earnest and successful exertions in support of the privileges of Chemists and Druggists, and especially for having laid the foundation of a National Institution for the elevation and advancement of Pharmacy."

Moved by Mr. Thomas Herring, seconded by Mr. Wilkinson, *and resolved unanimously,*

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Richard Hotham Pigeon, Esq., for his efficient performance of the duties of Chairman."

R. A. FARMAR, }  
G. W. SMITH. } *Secretaries.*

On the 17th of June a pamphlet was published, entitled *OBSERVATIONS addressed to the Chemists and Druggists of Great Britain on the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY, by Jacob Bell.* This was intended as a general answer to enquiries and animadversions daily received by the Author, in consequence of an extensive correspondence which he had opened on the subject; and above

2,000 copies were transmitted to various parts of the country during the interval between the appointment of the Council and the publication of their first official address.

Early in July the Council issued their first address to the Chemists and Druggists of Great Britain, of which upwards of 5000 copies were circulated, and fresh members were daily added to the society. In this, as on former occasions, the want of an authentic list was found to be a great disadvantage, as many Chemists and Druggists in the country, especially in small towns, received no intimation of what was going on, while several hundred letters were returned, the parties having left business, or the directions being incorrect. This is an additional proof of the advantage of a complete registration of the members of the body, which will, it is to be hoped, result from the formation of the society.

The Address of the Council is inserted, as it completes the chain of documents connected with the subject, and may probably be referred to with some degree of interest at a future time.

#### ADDRESS.

IN entering on their official duties, the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society are most anxious to draw the attention of the Chemists and Druggists of Great Britain to the immediate necessity of uniting their strength and influence to meet the emergencies of the present crisis. They consider that in having successfully opposed the bills lately brought before Parliament, they have only commenced the duty which they are called upon to perform, and that the fear of injury on the one hand, and the prospect of substantial improvement on the other, ought to stimulate all their brethren to assist them in the important work which they have undertaken.

Chemists and Druggists have long had reason to regret the want of a union of their influence for mutual benefit and protection, and of a uniform education and internal government among themselves, as a means of substantiating their claim to public confidence; being conscious that as long as these defects exist, they may expect to be assailed by obnoxious imputations on the part of those medical reformers who are endeavouring to enforce a system of extraneous restrictions and supervision.

If "the Trade" is to be protected merely *as a trade*, and Acts of Parliament professedly designed for its reformation are to be opposed solely on the ground of self-interest, the task of self-defence will be endless, and probably unsuccessful, while the exertions wasted on such struggles can reflect no credit on the spirit or integrity of those who are thus engaged; but if, aware that some regulations may be required, we endeavour to supply the deficiency, which is urged as a pretext for hostile proceedings, we shall secure ourselves against the possibility of persecution.

The importance which Chemists and Druggists have obtained as a branch of the medical profession, the reputation which many among them have acquired individually in their own department, and the great accession of members which now swells their ranks, demand the establishment of some judicious regulations which shall place them in a safe and creditable position as a body.

Those among us who take a real interest in our scientific art, rejoice at the opportunity which is now afforded of placing the "trade" of a Chemist and

Druggist on a professional footing, and effecting a union of our scattered forces for mutual benefit and advancement. By these means talents, which have hitherto lain dormant, will be excited into action, a harmonious intercourse will take the place of reciprocal jealousy and distrust, and all the collective influence we possess will become available in attaining the desired improvement among ourselves, and resisting encroachments or interference on the part of others.

The Council are particularly desirous of overcoming the impression, that a voluntary society cannot effect these objects. They consider that it will, in the first place, concentrate their power of self-defence, and be the means of distinguishing those who aspire to a high standard of qualification from the careless and indifferent; and, secondly, that by introducing a system of government conducive to the welfare of the public, it will form a basis for any legislative measures which may hereafter be adopted.

The Council wish also to call the attention of Assistants and Apprentices to the advantages which they will ultimately derive from the establishment of a Society which will give increased importance, character, and respectability to all its Members, which is especially calculated to advance and elevate the rising generation, and which will give Associates increased facilities in obtaining situations.

As a collateral but very important object of the Society, the Council must particularly advert to the Benevolent Fund, which, in their estimation, claims the support of every Chemist and Druggist in the kingdom. In a body so numerous as we have now become, and among whom we must calculate upon the existence of a proportionate amount of distress, or even destitution, the absence of any specific means of mitigating the sufferings attendant on such calamities is indeed to be deplored; and those who are duly impressed with the uncertainty of worldly prosperity, and a desire for the welfare of their fellow-creatures, will rejoice to see Science and Benevolence going hand in hand in the great work of improvement which is before us.

In conclusion, the Council recapitulate the general advantages contemplated in the Society: namely, the union of all the Members of the body, for the purpose of self-government and self-protection—the establishment of a uniform system of education, which will promote the advancement of science and the elevation of the profession of Pharmacy—the restraint which will be placed upon the incompetent for the benefit of the public; and, lastly, the alleviation of the sufferings of the unfortunate. In appealing to their brethren for assistance in the prosecution of this comprehensive undertaking, the Council are especially anxious to draw attention to the important fact, that although the growth of the Society to maturity may be gradual, the rapidity of its progress is entirely dependent upon the number and assiduity of its supporters.

On Monday, November 1st, 1841, a meeting of the subscribers to the fund of 1814-15, was held at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand; Mr. Gifford in the chair. Among the subscribers present, were Messrs. William Allen, Butterfield and Westwood. Several communications from the country were read, suggesting the propriety of presenting the balance in hand to the Pharmaceutical Society, and the following resolution was moved by Mr. Butterfield, seconded by Mr. Savory, and unanimously adopted:

\* That the original object of this fund being the protection and advancement of the interest of Chemists and Druggists, this meeting of subscribers, convened by circulars and also by public advertisement, desires to recognise in the establishment of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY of Great Britain, a permanent and legitimate means of accomplishing such object; namely, by a

general union and organization for the protection of present privileges and the education and improvement of the future members of the trade. They, the said subscribers, do hereby authorize and instruct their sole surviving trustee, William Allen, Esq., Plough Court, to transfer to the Council of the said PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY of Great Britain, the whole of the funds he now holds in trust, to be used and appropriated by them, in such manner as shall be deemed best calculated to advance their noble and useful design."

The sum thus transferred, which had been accumulating during the last twenty-five years, amounted to £862 18s. 2d. This transfer connected the present association of Chemists and Druggists with that which had been for some time in a dormant state, but which had originated from circumstances similar to those which had led to the formation of the Pharmaceutical Society.

Although the objects of the two associations were the same, the manner in which it was proposed to attain these objects, was, in some respects, different. On the former occasion the proceedings of the Trade were directed to a defensive resistance of threatened encroachments, and contemplated merely the preservation of accustomed rights and privileges by legal means and parliamentary influence. In the establishment of the Pharmaceutical Society a more extended view of the subject was taken, and the more immediate source of alarm having been successfully combated, the extension of Pharmaceutical knowledge and the further improvements in the qualifications of the Trade individually and collectively, became the basis of the defence which was set up against future innovations or restraint.

Soon after the confirmation of the general laws of the society, at the meeting of the members, the Council sent a copy of the same to the College of Physicians, with a letter requesting the favour of a conference. It was some time before a reply to this communication was received, and it was evident from this circumstance as well as from an answer received on a former occasion, that the college was not anxious to take an active part in the regulations relating to Chemists and Druggists. It was desirable however, that such measures should be adopted as would be likely to receive the sanction of that body, more particularly in reference to the mode of conducting the examination of members and associates, which was one of the most important duties undertaken by the Society, and one in which the experience of the members of the medical profession might have been a considerable advantage.

On the 18th of November, 1841, a deputation of the Pharmaceutical Society had an interview with a Committee of the College of Physicians, and explained, in general terms, the nature of the regulations for educating and examining Chemists and Druggists, which were under consideration, and in the com-

pletion of which it had been thought desirable and right to confer with the College. The Committee appeared to concur in the opinion, that the course adopted by the Chemists and Druggists was calculated to benefit the profession and the public, and undertook to take the sense of the members of the College, at an early meeting of that body, and to report the result to the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society. On the 27th of November the following communication was received :

*" College of Physicians, Nov. 27, 1841.*

"The Royal College of Physicians of London has received from the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society, an Address and an outline of a Plan for the education and examination of Chemists and Druggists, &c.

"The College is sincerely desirous that Chemists and Druggists, on whom such large responsibilities rest, should not dispense medicines without being previously examined ; but the College must have further time to consider how this may be best effected, with due attention to the privileges conferred by charter upon other bodies ; at the same time, having the most earnest wish to assist the Chemists and Druggists for the general good of the profession and the public.

"In conclusion, the College begs to add, that the Committee charged with the duty of conferring with other professional bodies, is proceeding with the enquiries and negotiations in which it has been engaged, and hopes, at no distant period, to be in a position to answer more fully.

(Signed) "FRANCIS HAWKINS, M.D., Registrar."

It having been ascertained that the College was not likely, at present, to co-operate or interfere in the matter, the Council appointed a Committee to prepare a draft of the regulations for the examinations, and, after mature deliberation, resolved, that the Board of Examiners should consist of Dispensing Chemists, and that the College of Physicians and the London University should be invited to depute respectively a representative to attend as a visitor.

To this invitation the College of Physicians sent a verbal reply, through the medium of Dr. Frederick Farre, to this effect—That while the College cordially approved of the educational improvement contemplated in the formation of the Pharmaceutical Society, and had watched with considerable interest the progress of that Institution, the College could not, without exceeding the powers conferred by its charter, officially depute any of its members to take a part in the proceedings of another society in the manner proposed. At the same time, the College would not object to the appointment of any of its members, in his or their individual capacity, to such office.

It having been intimated to the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society that the Senate of the London University was not likely officially to co-operate in the proposed examinations—the Council proceeded to the appointment of Examiners, and made the necessary arrangements for commencing operations.

During the first few months after the establishment of the Society, the proceedings were observed with some degree of distrust and suspicion by the members of the medical profession; and this is not at all surprising, when we consider the nature of the controversies which have prevailed in times past, and which are briefly noticed in this epitome. But this prejudice appeared gradually to subside, as the object and tendency of the institution became more generally understood and appreciated. The scientific meetings, which were attended by many medical men, served to give a favourable impression, by demonstrating the advantage likely to result from the discussion of subjects relating to Pharmacy, in a mixed assembly of that description, and also affording an opportunity of defining the province of the Pharmaceutical Chemist in such discussions. The subjects introduced were generally of a practical nature, comprising the various operations of the laboratory and dispensary, and having no reference to medical and surgical practice, or to questions of a political character. The pharmaceutical meetings, therefore, enjoyed the sanction of the medical profession, and those who attended them expressed much satisfaction at the course of proceeding which had been adopted, and the spirit with which it was carried on. The introduction of these scientific assemblies, and the establishment of a school for the education of Pharmaceutical Chemists, may be considered as an important event in the history of Pharmacy, from which we may anticipate a great advantage.

The establishment of the Pharmaceutical Journal was an accidental circumstance. The first number was printed for gratuitous circulation, for the purpose of making known the object of the scientific meetings, and five other numbers were announced as an experiment. It very soon became evident that a periodical of this description was much required, and the only doubt which arose, was, whether the Council should undertake the publication of a Journal, or sanction that which had been projected. It was thought by some members that the work should be conducted officially by the society, or a committee appointed by the Council, but no definite plan having been matured for carrying this into effect, the work proceeded as before, with a few modifications in the arrangement, the Transactions of the Pharmaceutical Society being kept distinct from the other portions of the Journal.

In December, 1841, the Council of the Society, having been informed that the subject of Medical Reform was likely to come before Parliament during the ensuing session, thought it right to address the Secretary of State on the subject, requesting the favour of an interview. After some correspondence between Sir James Graham and the President, an appointment was made;

a deputation attended at the Home Office, and was allowed the opportunity of explaining the grounds upon which the Society claimed the protection of the Government, and the circumstances which had led the Council to seek an interview. Sir James Graham stated, that the government had not yet determined what course to pursue, in reference to the medical profession, the subject being one on which it was not easy to legislate, and inquired whether the Society desired a royal charter of incorporation? The deputation replied, that it was the intention of the Council to apply for this favour when their plans were more fully matured; but they thought it right to wait until they were in a position to prove, by an appeal to facts, that the measures which they proposed to carry out, in reference to their body, were calculated to promote the public welfare, and that, in granting a charter to the Society, her Majesty would benefit the community at large, no less than the parties to whom it was granted. The leading object of the Society being to regulate the education, and ensure the competence, of those who compound medicines, it was contended, that as soon as it could be shown that the means adopted were calculated to attain the end in view, the Council might, *on public grounds*, petition for the sanction and protection of her Majesty and the Government. The arrangements of the Society being as yet incomplete, the immediate object of the deputation was to solicit the privilege of being communicated with as the representatives of the Chemists and Druggists, in the event of any measures affecting that body coming before the government. The subject having been fully and fairly discussed, Sir James Graham engaged that nothing should be done, in reference to the subject in question, without timely notice being given to the President of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY.

It has hitherto been considered a necessary consequence of the education of a Chemist that he becomes a medical practitioner. Our predecessors, the original Apothecaries, who were merely compounders of medicine, possessed very limited advantages in respect to education, and in proportion as they advanced in intelligence and knowledge they encroached on the Physicians until they became to all intents and purposes medical men. When they established a Hall, and laid down a regular course of study for their apprentices, they were not content with instructing them in those sciences which relate to the compounding of drugs, but included in their curriculum, surgery, physiology, anatomy, the practice of medicine and midwifery. By this means they supplied the public with a very useful class of medical practitioners, whose services are called into requisition by a large proportion of those patients whose situation in life does not

admit of the regular employment of Physicians and Surgeons. But, by the same course, they left a gap to be filled up by another class of compounders of medicine.

From the foregoing account of the origin of Chemists and Druggists, it is evident that this result was brought about by the wants of the public, and, on reviewing the circumstances of the case we are naturally led to the consideration of the position which Pharmacy occupies, or ought to occupy, as a branch of the medical profession.

Among the ancients the medical profession was divided into three classes. The first related chiefly to *Diet* and the treatment of disorders by regimen: the second was the *Pharmaceutical* department, relating to the use of medicines: the third comprehended the manual operations which come within the province of *Surgery*. These offices occasionally merged into each other, and were also subdivided, giving rise to various grades in rank as well as classification of labour. For instance, there were *Αρχιτεκτονικοι*, or *consulting Physicians*; *Δημιουργοι*, executive or Junior Physicians: *Pharmacopolæ*, vendors of drugs who did not prepare them, some of whom were also called *περιουδενται*, or *αγοραται*, *charlatans*; *Pharmaceutribæ compounders and vendors* of drugs, who did not administer them: *παραπωλαι*, *κατολικοι* and *μυγαροπωλαι*, *wholesale vendors of drugs, colours, perfumery, dyes, &c.*; *ριζοτομοι*, *cutters of roots*: *βοτανικοι*, *collectors of herbs*. The cutting of roots was often performed with superstitious ceremonies, and those who followed this department were termed *αποθηκαι*. There were also *barbers*, *corn-cutters*, *poisoners*, and other pretenders to medical art, whose separate functions it is unnecessary to particularize.

Although this classification differs from that which obtains at the present day in this country, it presents an analogy in some particulars. We have the first grand division into three classes, representing in ordinary language, *Physic*, *Surgery*, and *Pharmacy*. Physicians and Surgeons are subdivided according to their rank, or the particular line of practice each individual embraces, but these details are foreign to our present subject. We have also a variety of grades and offices comprised in the third grand division, which is denominated Pharmacy.

This department merges into the other two in the case of the general practitioner, and it indeed appears impossible to maintain rigidly an *absolute* separation; but it is our present object to discuss the merits of PHARMACY in its isolated state, distinct from the practice of Medicine and Surgery, and comprehending every office or operation relating to the preparation and sale of medicines.

Although the preparation and compounding of drugs is considered a subordinate office, it is quite as important as any other



office in the profession. This is so obvious as to require no demonstration, since remedies are the tools which the Physician employs, and on the efficacy of which he is dependent for success. Pharmacy in the present day embraces so many sciences, and has become so complicated from the discoveries which have recently been made, especially in Chemistry, that a complete knowledge of the subject can only be acquired by those who devote their exclusive attention to the pursuit. The science of Chemistry is alone sufficiently comprehensive to engage the whole time of those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with all its details. Whether we consider the simple elementary bodies (according to the present state of our knowledge) the mineral kingdom, and the endless combinations of the metals, or turn our attention to the more abstruse and mysterious peculiarities of organic structure, we are confused by the multitude of facts, and the complication of theories, which crowd upon us.

Explanations of phenomena are at one time universally received as plausible and satisfactory, and are afterwards proved to be entirely fallacious, while mysteries which have puzzled philosophers for ages, are sometimes unravelled by the discovery of a principle of nature which had been overlooked. These revolutions in chemical science give rise to changes in nomenclature, and improvements in the processes of the laboratory, which innovations involve the study of Pharmacy in increasing difficulty, and confer on the pursuit the character of a philosophical profession. It is the province of the Pharmaceutical Chemist to apply the various discoveries which are made in this science to his own peculiar department, and although it may not be necessary for every Chemist and Druggist to be practically acquainted with the details of ultimate analysis, the principles of Chemistry should be understood by every person who undertakes to prepare a prescription, and in many of the daily operations of Pharmacy, a profound knowledge of the science is indispensable.

The range of the *Materia Medica* is too extensive to be embraced in the mind without a systematic study of all its minutiae in the first instance, followed up by constant application. The variations in the quality of drugs, and the sophistications to which they are liable, increase the responsibility of the Druggist, and demand the utmost vigilance. In reviewing the history of Pharmacy in all ages, we find that fraud has always prevailed to a remarkable extent in this kind of traffic, which circumstance may chiefly be attributed to the facility of eluding detection, from the imperfect acquaintance possessed by the public of the nature and properties of drugs. The detection of adulterations is, therefore, one of the most onerous duties of the Pharmaceutical Che-

mist, and it is one which requires, besides chemical knowledge, a practical acquaintance with the sensible properties of all the substances used in medicine.

The science of Botany, although to a great extent comprised in the *Materia Medica*, alone affords occupation for the whole life of those who are ambitious of attaining proficiency; and even that amount of knowledge, which every Chemist ought to possess of the plants which are used in medicine, cannot be acquired without many years of study.

It is needless to enumerate the collateral branches of science which might be comprised in a complete pharmaceutical education; enough has been stated to prove, that PHARMACY is deserving of a separate and distinct place in the arrangement of the medical profession, and that it is not likely to advance as a science, and keep pace with other sciences, unless it be followed by a class of persons who devote themselves exclusively to it. That Pharmacy is worthy of this exclusive attention cannot be disputed, when we consider its object—namely, the preparation of remedies for the relief of human suffering—and also the mental acquirements which the performance of this office demands.

One of the disadvantages under which the art and science of Pharmacy has hitherto laboured in this country, is the false position which it occupies, and the prejudice which has degraded it to the level of a mere trade. From this prejudice has arisen the notion, that the necessary result of improving the character and education of the Chemist and Druggist, would be to convert him into a medical practitioner. It has been shown that the system of education adopted by the Apothecaries was *Medical* and *Surgical*, rather than *Pharmaceutical*; and it is obvious, that the odium which rested on Pharmacy as a TRADE, induced them to aspire to Medical Practice as a PROFESSION.

But if proper encouragement were given to the followers of pure Pharmacy—if this pursuit were held in the estimation which it deserves, and which it enjoys in other countries—if the same professional credit were attainable in this field of labour, which is within the reach of the members of other professions, the inducement which now exists to encroach on the medical practitioner would be greatly diminished, or cease altogether, and the science of Pharmacy might be expected to flourish.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that this division of labour cannot be carried to the same extent in all localities. Many small towns and villages could neither support a Physician, nor a Surgeon, and a Chemist and Druggist could not live without uniting some accessory business to the sale of drugs. In this respect the position of small towns in the present day resembles that of

the country in general in ancient times, when all persons connected with the medical profession were *General Practitioners*. In the metropolis, and some other large cities, not only are the three grand divisions observed in the case of many individuals, but each "genus" is subdivided into a number of "species;" for instance, in Pharmacy, we have *Operative Chemists, Dispensing Chemists, Manufacturing Chemists, Wholesale Druggists, Saline Chemists, Chemists and Druggists* who give their attention to particular classes of preparations—others who cultivate the sale of horse and cattle medicines—others who are between wholesale and retail, and supply Apothecaries with drugs. The nature of the retail trade also varies according to neighbourhood and the rank of the customers. Under these circumstances there is some scope for classification, and with reference to such a state of things, the Medical Profession in its broadest extent should be considered. The division of labour having been regulated accordingly, the example may be followed in smaller towns, to such an extent as is compatible with the amount of the population and the wants of the public.

The question which has always caused the greatest agitation in the profession, is that which relates to the suppression of uneducated practitioners, and the prohibition of "counter-practice" among Chemists and Druggists. Notwithstanding the loud protestations respecting the "welfare of the public," and the "credit of the profession," it is too evident that the controversies which have hitherto taken place have not been altogether disinterested, and that the desire to prevent *encroachments* on the one hand, and to escape *restrictions* on the other, has been the chief stimulus to action. It cannot be denied that the public ought to be provided with *highly qualified practitioners in every department*; but whether the public should be allowed to employ unqualified persons or not, is a question on which opinions are divided.

Those who advocate the protection of the Profession and the public by stringent laws, contend that no person should be allowed to practise in any department without having had a regular education, and passed an examination; and support this opinion by stating, that in justice to those who have been at the expense of passing this ordeal, they should possess the exclusive right of enjoying the emolument to be derived from it, and that by no other means can the public be secured against the danger and suffering which may result from ignorance in unqualified pretenders.

It is argued, on the other side, that it is impossible to suppress quackery by law—that the public have the option of selecting such practitioners as they prefer—and that provided no person be allowed to assume a title or rank which does not fairly belong

to him, the responsibility of trusting to those who are not worthy of confidence rests with the patients themselves. It is argued, that from time immemorial, empirics have been encouraged and supported not only by the ignorant and unwary, but also by persons of rank and education\*: and that the endeavour to restrain or put down an impostor or unqualified practitioner, generally has the effect of giving him notoriety and increasing his practice. The reputation of St. John Long continued to increase until several of his patients died, under circumstances which exposed the fallacy of his theory and the recklessness of his practice; and this circumstance tended more to explode his theory than all the opposition which the medical profession could have offered, or the rigour which the law could have inflicted. It is also urged by those who oppose restrictions, that many of the remedies now in use and sanctioned by our Pharmacopœia have been derived from empirics.

The arguments which have been advanced in favour of restricting Chemists and Druggists from giving advice, apply more or less to the case of quacks and the proprietors of patent medicines, as it would obviously be absurd to prohibit the Chemists from recommending an aperient draught or a digestive pill, to a patient who describes his symptoms, and at the same time to sanction the sale of secret medicines, with printed directions, announcing them as infallible specifics against a long list of disorders. It would be unjust to punish a man for recommending five grains of compound rhubarb pill of the London Pharmacopœia, while he might with impunity prescribe a box of Morison's pills or a bottle of Daffy's elixir. It is therefore necessary to view the subject in all its bearings, and to consider not only the responsibility attached to the practice of medicine, but the practicability and consistency of any measures which may be proposed for guarding against the evils complained of.

The Chemist is not supposed to possess the advantage of a medical education; but he is and ought to be acquainted with the properties and doses of medicines, and the ordinary mode of administering them. In this capacity, his opinion is sometimes asked, in simple cases, and however unwilling he may be to interfere in any degree in Medical Practice, he cannot avoid occasionally giving his advice, without incurring the imputation of ignorance and losing the confidence of his customers altogether. It cannot be denied that this practice is sometimes carried beyond the limits which ought to be observed, but which it is impossible to define, and in some cases time may be lost while urgent symptoms are gaining ground for want of regular medical treatment.

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\* See pages 5 and 6.

It may happen that a patient suffering under an acute disorder, consults a homœopathic doctor, who denouncing depletion under any circumstances, trusts to the imagined efficacy of an infinitesimal dose of charcoal or of pulsatilla, and neglects to resort to that treatment which the experience of the medical profession would dictate. The disorder increases: another globule is administered and repeated once or twice in the day. The patient dies, and the doctor attributes this event to some accidental circumstance which had interfered with the action of the medicine. Other medical men, not homœopaths, would probably take a very different view of the case.

Again: A patient of a delicate constitution consults a hydro-pathist, and dies of consumption, *in spite of* the damp sheets and drenchings of cold water, from which a cure was anticipated. In this case, also, opinions may differ as to the proximate cause of death.

Other patients, caught by a plausible advertisement in the newspaper, resort to some "infallible drops" or "vegetable pills," which they take according to the printed directions. Some of them may become worse, or even die, notwithstanding the "infallibility" of the medicines. It is sometimes said, in such cases, that the nostrum was the cause of death; but this cannot always be proved, and is of course denied by the promulgators of the specific.

The science of medicine (which has been termed the "*ars conjecturalis*") is involved in so much mystery, that even doctors occasionally disagree; and a patient, worn out by an obstinate disorder, is not unlikely to be attracted by the professions and promises of those who propose a new system, or advertise, as a wonderful discovery, a remedy which they describe as a specific. Sometimes a paragraph in the newspaper creates a great sensation, and induces hundreds of persons to undertake their own cure, according to the directions laid down.

At the time the cholera first appeared in England, this was the case to a remarkable degree. A paragraph was published, recommending, as a certain cure for this formidable disorder, a poultice of mustard and linseed meal to the feet, an embrocation of camphorated spirits to the pit of the stomach, and twenty or thirty drops of oil of Cajeput, Peppermint, or Cloves, in a glass of water, at stated intervals internally. Accordingly it was recommended that every person should keep in the house, in case of emergency,

1 lb. linseed meal,  
1 lb. mustard,  
Half a pint of spirit of camphor,  
1 oz. of one of the oils.

Orders flocked in from all quarters, and the Chemists were

scarcely able to supply the demand. The price of Cajaput oil rose to about twenty shillings an ounce, the other oils advanced, though not in the same ratio. Some Chemists kept cases ready put up, containing "A complete set of all the articles required for Cholera," which were sold as fast as they could be filled. Various other remedies were recommended in the newspapers; each of which had its day; and while the doctors were discussing the mysterious nature of the disorder, the public eagerly bought whatever remedy was recommended. In fact, any person who happened to have a stock of an article on hand which could be made available, found it the best plan to advertise it as a remedy for cholera.

The circumstances attending the influenza on a previous occasion were somewhat similar, although the treatment was perhaps rather better understood. The remedies usually applied for were, a calomel pill and black draught, and a cough mixture. These articles were often demanded by patients, who, when advised by the Chemists to whom they applied, to call in a medical man, persisted in doctoring themselves, and described the kind of medicines which they required.

A few years ago, the fame of Morison's pills extended throughout the kingdom. They were recommended for almost every disorder, and the circumstance of twenty or thirty pills being prescribed for a dose, was a novelty which gave additional notoriety to the Morisonian system, and threw the doctors into the shade. Some patients who had previously suffered from obstinate constipation, found benefit from this active treatment; and recommended it to their friends, and many others followed the fashion under the idea that the pills would purify their blood; and that because they cured one person they could not fail to be beneficial to another. At length, however, the traffic arrived at its zenith, several victims died of hypercatharsis, resulting from an excessive indulgence in the specific; Morison himself was among the number on whom it failed to produce the desired effect, and with him died his fame. Morison's "college of health" still exists, but it has lost its Morison.

In an article in the *Quarterly Review* of December, 1842, several other cases are noticed, in which certain fashions in medicine and pharmacy have sprung up, each in succession creating a considerable sensation, until the bubble burst.

The first delusion adverted to, is that respecting the king's evil, in which case royalty was implicated in the assumption of the magical power of curing scrofula by a touch, and this practice was sanctioned by some members of the medical profession. Care was taken however to try the efficacy of the charm only in cases in which a tendency to recover had manifested itself.

King George the First discontinued the practice altogether. Tar water, Mrs. Stephens's cure for the gravel and stone, Perkins's metallic tractors, and mustard-seed, successively enjoyed an ephemeral reputation, and in turn gave place to other fashions. Brandy and salt was extensively recommended as a specific in a great variety of disorders, by Mr. Lee and Mr. Vallance, who were so disinterested in their practice as to give away a considerable quantity of this invaluable mixture. The proportions used were six ounces of salt in a pint of French brandy, and it was used internally or externally, or both, according to circumstances.

The embrocation of St. John Long has already been alluded to; it was supposed to consist of a mineral acid, mixed with spirit of turpentine. Some said it contained arsenic; but this is only conjecture, as St. John Long did not trust it out of his own hands. Near the end of the year 1830 a Miss Cassian, who had symptoms of consumption, died while under the influence of this application, and her sister, who had not shewn symptoms of the disorder, was brought to St. John Long, who recommended the same treatment by way of *prevention*. A severe wound was established in her back, her strength declined, violent sickness and other alarming symptoms ensued. Sir Benjamin Brodie was called in, but unfortunately too late to avert the fatal result. These cases and a few others which terminated unsuccessfully, shook the reputation of St. John Long, but he continued to practise as an infallible consumption doctor, until he fell a victim to consumption himself.

The system which has acquired the greatest notoriety is Homœopathy, which, in its relation to Pharmacy, deserves a few remarks. The founder of this system, Dr. Hahnemann, was a Physician in Dresden, and being unsuccessful in his practice, and also in literary pursuits, to which he resorted in order to make ends meet, turned his attention to the study of human nature, and promulgated a theory which was destined to make him a great man. We are told that a secret was suddenly revealed to him, by "the star of truth," on which he founded his method of curing diseases. The law of nature, to the discovery of which he lays claim, is this—"Similia similibus curantur," which being interpreted reads thus:—A medicine which has the power of producing any disease, will cure that disease, if it already exist in the system. As two similar diseases cannot exist together, the artificial disease drives out the other, and then spontaneously subsides. Thus ipecacuanha is given to allay sickness, jalap to arrest diarrhoea, &c. &c. But the most remarkable feature in this mode of practice consists in the administration of doses so inconceivably small as to be invisible by the naked eye, and incommensurable

prehensible to the human understanding. Great importance is also attributed to the manipulation of the remedies. The *Pharmacopœia Homœopathica*, by Dr. Quin (1834) contains explicit directions on this subject, and each article is described separately; with the dose, the antidote, and the duration of the effect. No compounds are introduced, each medicine being administered in its isolated state, sugar of milk or spirit being selected as the menstruum, on account of their possessing no medicinal properties which could interfere with the desired effect. Porcelain or glass mortars are recommended, and some descriptions of stone or marble are prohibited, because they are said to contain a portion of magnesia, or other substance, which might be injurious.

Each substance is directed to be prepared in various degrees of attenuation. To produce the *first attenuation*, one grain is to be triturated for six minutes in a mortar, with thirty-three grains of sugar of milk, it is then to be detached from the mortar, and again triturated for four minutes. Each of these operations is to be repeated a second time. To this powder thirty-three grains of sugar of milk are to be added, and the friction repeated in the same manner; after which a third portion of thirty-three grains is to be added, and the ceremony having been repeated, the first attenuation is attained. To produce the *second attenuation*, one grain of the above is to be triturated in the same manner with ninety-nine grains of sugar of milk. This process is continued with strict attention to all its details until the *thirtieth* attenuation is produced, each attenuation occupying half-an-hour, and reducing the product to one hundredth of the strength of the former attenuation. The exact period and method of trituration is considered to exercise an important influence on the efficacy of the remedy: according to Dr. Hahnemann "the brute matter of medicines becomes spiritualized by friction and concussion." Liquids are prepared in the same proportions, one drop of the juice of a plant, or solution of a substance, being agitated with ninety-nine drops of the menstruum, which dilution is carried on, to the requisite number of attenuations.

One of the most interesting preparations in the Homœopathic Pharmacopœia is the Tincture of Sulphur, which is prepared as follows:—five grains of sulphur having been washed with spirit of wine and dried, are shaken in a bottle with a hundred drops of spirit of wine. The bottle is allowed to stand twenty-four hours, that the sulphur may subside. One drop of the supernatant fluid is added to ninety-nine drops of alcohol. This constitutes the first attenuation, and the process of dilution is repeated thirty times. *Dose*—One, two, or three drops of the thirtieth attenuation. *Duration of the effect*—Thirty, forty,



or fifty days. *Antidotes*—Camphor, Pulsatilla, Sepia, Nux Vomica.

Another interesting preparation is *Graphites* or Plumbago. This substance is purified by washing, first with water, then with nitric and muriatic acids, and is diluted *secundum artem*. The *dose* is two or three globules of the twenty-second, twenty-fourth, or thirtieth attenuation; the *duration of the effect* forty-eight days; the *antidotes*, arsenic, nux vomica and wine.

In some instances globules of sugar of milk, prepared by the confectioner, are wetted with very attenuated solutions of active substances, and afterwards dried. By this means it may be supposed that a considerable degree of sub-division is attained. When one of these globules is dissolved in a tumbler of water, and a teaspoonful taken for a dose, it can scarcely be expected that an antidote would be required. It is indeed surprising that any efficacy should be attributed to these inconceivably minute doses, but when we see instructions gravely and explicitly laid down in a Pharmacopœia, with the doses, effects, and antidotes, how can we doubt the fact?

According to the homœopathic system, bleeding, and indeed depletion of any kind, is prohibited; perfumes, coffee, aromatics, fermented liquors, spirits, and many other articles are denounced; and in any case in which a substance is administered homœopathically, the patient is enjoined to take particular care that none of that substance is taken in the diet. For instance, if salt (chloride of sodium, or *natrum muriaticum*, as it is called homœopathically) be the remedy employed, it is said that salt taken in the usual way would interfere with its action; if charcoal be prescribed, charcoal tooth-powder must be avoided, lest a few particles should accidentally be swallowed. Particular instructions are also given respecting regimen, exercise, &c., which are said to be essential to the proper action of the homœopathic remedies.\*

Dr. Hahnemann tried the efficacy of his system on himself, his family, and friends, and performed a variety of experiments, which occupied above twenty years, before he fully developed his valuable secret to the public. As the result of these investigations, he details the various symptoms produced by the remedies employed, and this statement is truly astonishing. We are told

\* It may not be out of place to notice the Sympathetic Powder of Sir Kenelm Digby, which had great reputation for curing wounds and which was eulogized in a discourse before a learned assembly at Montpellier (1658). The weapon which had inflicted the wound, was anointed with ointment, and sprinkled with the powder several times a day. The wound itself was directed to be brought together, carefully bound up, and not disturbed for seven days, at the end of which time, *provided the powder had been regularly applied to the weapon*, the cure was generally effected in the wound.

that charcoal produces upwards of 600 symptoms, sulphur 1000, pulsatilla 1100, nux vomica 1300, &c. These symptoms are minutely described in the works which have been published by Dr. Curie and others on the subject.

The following is a specimen :

Graphites, according to "The Star of Truth," relieves\*,

"A buzzing in the head, eruption of crusts behind the ears, confused noise and tingling in the ears, ulceration in the corners of the mouth, dry crusts in the nose, dislike for baked food, weight in the stomach, blowing up of the lower part of the belly, escape of wind in too large quantity, false voice in singing, night cough, gout knotty in the fingers, cold feet in the night in bed, burning heat in the feet, suppuration of the toes, cramps in the ham, tendency to sprain the loins, plucking pain in the limbs, drowsiness at night, foolish dreams in sleep, ill-humour, aversion to work, and many other symptoms."

The Lycopodium is said to cure :†

"Attacks of tearing pain in the top of the head, in the forehead, temples, eyes, and nose ; head-ache in the exterior of the head during the night ; piercing and scraping pain ; suppuration from the eyes ; disagreeable impression produced by organ-music ; warts in the nose ; ulcerated nostrils ; repugnance for brown bread ; risings of fat ; canine appetite ; dry snoring cough ; nocturnal pain in the elbows ; cramps ; a turning back of the toes in walking ; itching ; old ulcers of the legs ; painful plucking of the limbs ; thoughts preventing sleep ; a capricious and irritable temper ; morose, unsteady mind ; a tendency to seek quarrels," &c. &c.

Among the symptoms to be relieved by Carbonate of Ammonia are‡,

"Hardness of hearing, with suppurations and itchings in the ears ; pain in the nape of the neck ; chronic unsteadiness of the teeth ; swelling of the interior of the mouth ; asthma ; cough, with shooting pains in the sacrum ; pain in a wrist which had been injured a long time previous ; cramps in the feet ; great weakness in the limbs ; sweating ; anxiety," &c.

Muriate of Soda is given to relieve §

"Head-ache, in which it seems there are strokes of a hammer ; crusts on the scalp ; button-like eruption on the forehead ; pain as of internal ulceration of the jaws in chewing ; sour risings ; contraction of the throat, with flow of water into the mouth ; immoderate appetite for dinner and supper ; perspiration in the face while eating ; empty risings after having eaten ; jolting in the head ; incapability of thinking ; splitting, tearing, and lancing head-ache ; plucking pains in the forehead ; shutting of the eyes in the morning ; whirling in the stomach ; noises in the left side of the belly ; pain, like that caused by a dislocation of the hip ; inconvenience from eating bread ; irritability, disposing to anger ; sadness ; great propensity to take alarm ; leanness ; a tendency to twist the loins," &c. &c.

The above is a very scanty selection from the prodigious list of symptoms produced (and therefore cured) by some very simple remedies.

On perusing this extraordinary catalogue of sensations and sufferings, the reader is naturally led to enquire, How was so wonderful a discovery made !—by what process of reasoning,

\* Dr. Curie's Practice of Homœopathy, p. 287. † P. 293. ‡ P. 267.

§ Dr. Curie's Practice of Homœopathy, p. 303.

induction, or experiment, was the connexion between cause and effect established? It was in the attainment of this end that Halnemann, his family, and his friends Franz, Hornberg, Stapf, &c. sacrificed above twenty years of their lives in a series of tedious experiments, the mode of conducting which is thus described by Dr. Curie:

"The essential conditions of these experiments are: that the experimenters be in perfect health; that they scrupulously adhere to diet which is merely nutritious, and in no way pathogenic; that they carefully avoid the use of fermented liquors, wine, spirits, spices of every kind, coffee, strong tea, acid fruits, all vegetables, except those of a farinaceous and mild description; that they shun all fatigue, bodily and mental, all excess, and even excitement; and that they previously note every habitual symptom by which they are affected."

These conditions being implicitly observed, every symptom or sensation which follows each dose is recorded, and, according to the law "*similia similibus curantur*," the statement is taken to represent the therapeutic action of the remedy. When we see how numerous and distressing these symptoms are, it is clear that the ordeal through which the enthusiastic experimenters passed, must have been such as few constitutions could have outlived.

The action of these minute doses on the nervous system when administered therapeutically is thus described, in contradistinction to the "violent and dangerous operation" of medicines administered in the ordinary way:

"By the homœopathic method, those medicaments for which the system has the greatest aptitude, are brought into contact with the papillæ of the tongue, which is found to be sufficient in all cases to produce the desired effect; and in some, smelling alone is enough. They thus touch directly the sentient roots of that nervous tree, through which their power is conveyed to the whole system.†"

It is a rule in Homœopathy never to administer more than two kinds of medicine in a day, as it is considered that all substances act better in a simple state, and that the effects of any remedy would be materially impaired or modified by admixture. It is usual to give a dose every four or five hours, but in acute cases as often as every two hours.

Dr. Curie informs us that ‡

"Homœopathy, which may appear easy of attainment at first, because it is founded on a few clear and simple principles, presents increasing difficulties as the student advances in his career, because in proportion as he advances, the difficulties are more clearly defined, and because the choice of the exact remedy for each individual case requires a serious study, to which the routine practitioner of the old school is unaccustomed."

He observes that "Allopathy," namely, the common or established practice, "has long been known to the world by its

\* Curie's Principles of Homœopathy, page 104.

† Page 154

‡ Curie's Principles of Homœopathy, page, 159.

acknowledged want of all principle in the administration of medicine, its utter uncertainty, its excessive costliness, its hazards, and its failures;\*" and that "Homœopathy forms a new era in medical science, destined to dispel the darkness, errors, and uncertainty in which therapeutics have been hitherto enveloped; its principle is a law of nature, unerring and immutable—a principle on which alone can be established the future progress and improvement of the healing art."†

The promulgation of this extraordinary doctrine by Dr. Hahnemann, was followed by grievous persecution on the part of the medical profession in Germany, which had the effect of giving him notoriety, and his cause was espoused by the Duke of Anhalt Cöthen. By degrees the system gained ground, not only in Germany, but in other nations in Europe, and in course of time it was imported into England, where it is extolled as infallible by many votaries. The system has also been introduced into Veterinary practice, and we are told that it is infallible in curing the *Distemper* in *Puppies*.

The circumstance that every theory, however puzzling to reason and common sense, has its supporters, is thus accounted for by Dean Swift:—

"Let us therefore now conjecture how it comes to pass, that none of these great prescribers do ever fail providing themselves and their notions, with a number of implicate disciples. And I think the reason is easy to be assigned, for there is a peculiar *String* in the harmony of human understanding, which, in several individuals is exactly of the same tuning. This, if you can dexterously screw up to its right key, and then strike gently upon it; whenever you have the good fortune to light among those of the same pitch, they will by a secret necessary sympathy, strike exactly at the same time. And in this one circumstance, lies all the skill or luck of the matter, for if you chance to jar the string among those who are either above or below your own height, instead of subscribing to your doctrine, they will tie you fast, call you mad, and feed you with bread and water.‡"

But Homœopathy, Pharmacy, and indeed the science of medicine, in all its branches, has lately been threatened with entire extinction by the discovery, on the part of Priessnitz, of Graeffenberg, of the virtues of cold water, which is recommended as a panacea. In addition to the internal administration of vast quantities of this beverage, it is applied externally in a great variety of ways. Damp sheets were formerly avoided with the most scrupulous care. It is now discovered that patients may sit in a cold-bath for a considerable time, envelope themselves in wet sheets, and retire to a dripping bed, not only with perfect safety, but with a very beneficial effect! These ablutions are

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\* Curie's Principles of Homœopathy, page 12.

† Curie's Practice of Homœopathy, page vi.

‡ Tale of a Tub. 7th edit., page 115. A. D. 1727.

directed to be repeated more or less frequently, and are either topical or general, according to the circumstances of the case. The symptoms of a *crisis* are severe boils and eruptions in all parts of the body, which, although troublesome at the time, are said to be indicative of approaching convalescence. This system is practised by persons who are not medical men, and who, in fact, have little or no pretensions to medical knowledge, but who nevertheless, undertake the treatment of any patients who may happen to present themselves. Large establishments are fitted up in different parts of the country, and the speculation is found to be particularly profitable.

The conductor of one of these mansions was formerly a Chemist and Druggist, who having thrown cold water on his creditors a few years ago, evaporated for a time, and reappeared in the capacity of a water-doctor in another part of the country. Several other persons have visited Graeffenberg for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of this new system, and following in the wake of the inventor who has risen from the station of a peasant to that of an oracle.

In giving an historical account of the theories and systems relating directly or indirectly to Pharmacy, it would be foreign to the purpose to enter minutely into the merits of each; but it may perhaps be allowable to quote one other passage from *The Quarterly Review*, as it explains in a few words the comparative value of remedies in general.

"The union of a broken bone, and the healing of a simple wound, are the results of a natural process. The recovery from many internal complaints is the result of a natural process also. Under such circumstances, the best evidence of the skill of the physician or surgeon is, that he merely watches what is going on, taking care that nothing may obstruct restoration, and avoiding all further interference. But it is his duty also to learn what unassisted nature can do and what she cannot do, and where her powers are insufficient, to step in to her assistance, and act with promptness and decision. It is just at this point that danger arises from faith in pretended remedies. If they have the virtue of being in themselves innocent, no harm can result from their use where nothing is wanted or nothing can be done; but it is quite otherwise on those occasions which call for active and scientific treatment; and we have good reason to say that many individuals have lost their lives from trusting to their use under these circumstances."\*

There is another subject, which, although not exactly connected with Pharmacy, is as much in place in a Pharmaceutical treatise as in any other, inasmuch as it relates to one of the most powerful "*sedatives*" with which we are acquainted—the subject alluded to is Mesmerism. This science, art, or mystery, having been roughly handled on the continent, has taken refuge in this country, and is cultivated by a considerable number of philoso-

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\* Brandy and Salt, Homœopathy, Hydropathy, page 103.

phical investigators. We may pass over the conjuring tricks with mesmerized water, nickel, and sovereigns, the development of phrenological indications by mesmeric "passes," the power of reading with the forehead and elbows, and other marvellous exhibitions which have astonished a section of the public. The only part of the subject which comes within our province, is the *sedative* effect of mesmeric manipulations, thrusts, or "passes," which are said to have the power of tranquillizing more effectually than any preparation of opium, producing an entire insensibility to pain, and thus disarming surgical operations of their usual torture.

On a recent occasion, the Medical and Chirurgical Society admitted for discussion at one of their meetings, the case of a man whose leg had been amputated while he was "in a Mesmeric trance,"\* and who afterwards declared that he had been unconscious of the operation. The subsequent dressing of the part affected was performed under similar circumstances, and with the same success. This was *prima facie* a strong case; but some of the mesmerists present, as if afraid of gaining a victory, launched out into the phenomena of mesmerized water, and the faculty of reading with various parts of the head, which feats were said to have been performed in the presence of THREE ARCHBISHOPS. This of course produced laughter, and weakened the main argument.

The anti-mesmerists on the other hand (with two or three exceptions) seemed scarcely disposed to give the case fair play, expressed regret that it had been admitted for discussion, rejected the evidence of the patient in reference to his insensibility to pain, and treated it as an attempt at imposition. At the same time they cited, in illustration of their remarks, the cases of other patients in which sensation was lost or impaired in morbid states of the system, forgetting that the evidence of this insensibility was derived from the *declarations and conduct* of these patients, which, in the case of the mesmeric patient, they would not admit as evidence at all. This mode of treating the question tended to impress the audience more favourably towards mesmerism than the defence of the mesmerists themselves.

Within a day or two of this discussion a pamphlet appeared in print, containing a full, true, and particular "*Account of a case of SUCCESSFUL AMPUTATION OF THE THIGH, during the MESMERIC STATE, without the knowledge of the patient, read to the ROYAL MEDICAL AND CHIRURGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, on Tuesday, the 22d of November, 1842.*"

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\* A lawyer officiated as Mesmerist on the occasion, while a surgeon amputated the limb, and the paper was the joint production of the two operators.

One great obstacle to the advancement of science is the prejudice which prevails in favour of *preconceived opinions* on one side, and *new theories* on the other, which conflicting influence frequently divides the scientific world into opposing parties, and checks that dispassionate investigation and discussion, which would be more in accordance with a candid desire to arrive at the truth.

When a new remedy is introduced to the notice of the profession, it generally has "a run" in the first instance. Those who are prone to be sanguine in such matters, probably attribute to it more merit than it deserves, and are too indiscriminate in its employment. Disappointment in the effect, ensues in some cases, and the fame of the medicine subsides. Those who are averse to innovation, instead of giving it a trial, note down the instances in which it has been unsuccessful, and condemn it. In this manner many articles in the *Materia Medica* have at various times been almost discarded by the profession, simply because they failed to realize the expectations which had been raised, and having fallen into disrepute, their actual merit or value has not been correctly estimated.

The theory of the action of remedies on the system is not sufficiently understood to enable us to predicate what will be the effect of a substance hitherto unemployed, and therefore recourse must be had to experiment in most cases, in order to determine the value of new remedies. In this respect quacks possess an advantage over regular practitioners, since, having no character to lose, they are not subject to the same prudential restraint, and, therefore, although they may often do mischief, they occasionally make discoveries which are ultimately beneficial to the profession.

Even regular medical men sometimes incur the persecution and reproaches of the profession, when they adopt a more bold and speculative practice than their neighbours, of which the case of Dr. Greenfield will serve as an illustration. The following are the leading particulars, taken from a work by the doctor himself, which was written in Latin, and translated by John Marten, surgeon (1706). The dispute arose from the employment of Cantharides, by Dr. Greenfield, as an internal remedy in "iscuries, stranguries, ulcers of the bladder," &c, which was considered by his brother practitioners to be *Mala Praxis*. The doctor informs us, that among other researches on the subject, he tried the effect of the medicine on dogs, in the presence of the President and Censors of the College; and he states—

"To one of which dogs I had administered Cantharides alone, and to the other corrected with Camphir, besides I undertook to produce as evidence of the wonderful virtue and effects of Cantharides, women (of whom I have

very many), cured with the use of it, as also Physitians of our own College, who were eye-witnesses of the same, but it was preaching to a dead wall, all was to no purpose, they refuse, reject, and disdain, all that could be offered in my defence,

And since no reason could be brought  
With private fraud they make it out,

For they gave a particular and pleasing attention and credit to the railings and calumnies of three women, sworn clandestinely and privately in my absence, and denied me the liberty to hear their examination, or to make any reply thereto, though often requested; but sent me away wholly ignorant of what was done. But about fourteen days after, committed me to NEWGATE, the common gaol for THIEVES and ROGUES, by virtue of a certain warrant under their hands and seals, charging me guilty of *MALE PRACTICE*."

After his liberation Dr. Greenfield wrote the work from which the above extract is taken, which is entitled a *TREATISE of the safe, internal use of CANTHARIDES in the Practice of Physick*. The author describes the virtues of the remedy, quotes various ancient authorities in its favour, and points out the effect of Camphor in moderating the irritant property of Cantharides. The translator, in a poem which precedes the Preface, commends the doctor in these words:

"Justly the conqueror's proud bays he claim'd;  
The small but dread CANTHARIDES he tam'd;  
Taught the cool CAMPHIRE's well-mixed sovereign balm  
The fierce CANTHARIDES hot rage to calm."

Although the internal employment of Cantharides, by Dr. Greenfield, at that period, exposed him to much obloquy and persecution, the remedy is now in frequent use, and the tincture is ordered in the Pharmacopœia and other works on medicine, with directions respecting the dose and mode of administration.

From the facts above stated, relative to the various modes of practice which are allowed and sanctioned by law, the great discrepancy in the notions and practice of medical men, and the disposition of the public to resist any restraint upon individual judgment in the matter, it is obvious that the line of demarcation between the regular and irregular practitioner is by no means clearly defined, and consequently that "the protection of the public and the profession against the effects of ignorance," by legislative measures, is extremely difficult.

Reverting to the subject of the PHARMACOPŒIAS, we ought to notice that of the Dublin College, which is of less ancient origin than those of London and Edinburgh. A *Specimen Pharmacopœiæ* was published in 1794, and another in 1805, which were circulated among the Members of the College only, and the first Dublin Pharmacopœia was printed for general circulation in 1807. This work, which had been several years in course of preparation, was chiefly compiled by the late Dr. Percival, who was then



Professor of Chemistry in the University, and who acted under the *surveillance* of a Committee of the College. About six years afterwards Dr. Percival commenced a series of experiments preparatory to the production of a new edition: in this task he was assisted by Mr. Donovan, who is now well known as a Professor in Dublin; but after the lapse of two years, Dr. Percival finding the undertaking onerous at his advanced period of life, abandoned it, and was succeeded by Dr. Barker, who had come into office as Professor of Chemistry. A committee was appointed to assist Dr. Barker, but the new edition did not appear until the year 1826. Shortly afterwards, Dr. Barker published an English translation, with notes and commentaries on the several processes. This, however, only embraced the Chemical department, and a second part containing the Galenical portion was produced by Dr. Montgomery. The Dublin Pharmacopœia is but little if at all circulated in England, but the processes are quoted in Thomson's Dispensatory, which is familiar to most Chemists in this country.

Dr. Christison's Dispensatory was published in the year 1842. In this work the plan of other dispensatories is essentially deviated from. Instead of its subjects being divided into several parts, and each topic treated of under several distinct heads, every special topic is exhausted under a single head, so that the observations on any one article of the *Materia Medica*, constitute, as it were, a complete treatise. Thus, for instance, that portion of the work which, in the Pharmacopœia is classified as "*The Preparations*," is distributed in different parts of the volume, each formula being given under the article in the *Materia Medica* which forms its basis. The several substances are arranged alphabetically.

Gray's Supplement to the Pharmacopœia has enjoyed considerable reputation as a book of reference. The first edition was published in 1818, the sixth in 1836. It contains a notice of almost every substance used in medicine, the preparations of the Pharmacopœias, patent medicines, &c., and although each subject is treated of in general terms, and with very little detail, the Chemist seldom has occasion to refer to the work without finding some allusion to the article on which he desires information.

Among other works on Pharmacy may be noticed Dr. Paris's Pharmacologia, of which the first edition was published in 1812, and the ninth is just published. This is a very useful book, both to the Medical Practitioner and the Pharmaceutical Chemist; and we need no further proof of its value than the number of editions which have been required by the Profession.

Thomson's Elements of *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics; Rennie's Supplement to the Pharmacopœia; Brande's Manual

of Pharmacy, and the Dictionary of Materia Medica, by the same author; Dr. Christison's Treatise on Poisons; Dr. Kane's Elements on Practical Pharmacy; Dr. Stephenson's Medical Botany; Dr. Lindley's Flora Medica; Dr. Alexander Ure's Compendium of Materia Medica, Dr. Lane's Compendium, and Dr. Bellingham's Materia Medica, are among the most important works which have been produced in Great Britain.

But the most remarkable work which has appeared in this country in the department of Pharmacy is Dr. Pereira's *Materia Medica*. It comprises 1,900 closely printed pages, and contains a scientific and explicit description of every article in the *Materia Medica*, with 365 woodcuts, and innumerable references to other works, both British and Foreign. The chemical constitution of substances, the botanical characters of plants, the therapeutic action of remedies, the history of every variety of drug, and the various opinions and theories on each subject, are detailed in a manner which indicates complete practical knowledge, as well as the most laborious scientific research.

It is worthy of remark, that until lately we have had no periodical devoted to the subject of Pharmacy. The first work of this description was *The Chemist*, which was commenced in 1839: *The Pharmaceutical Journal* originated at the time of the establishment of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1841; since which period the *Annals of Chymistry and Practical Pharmacy* and the *Chemical Gazette* have appeared.

From the circumstance of four journals of a Pharmaceutical character having sprung up and met with encouragement within so short a space of time, we may infer that the desire for information is extending itself in the profession, and we may hope that this periodical diffusion of knowledge will be attended with a beneficial result.

It is quite clear that the advantage of improved education and scientific intercourse among Pharmaceutical Chemists cannot be too highly appreciated, and in order to understand the manner in which an attention to measures of this description affects the general interests of our body, it is only necessary to observe the change in our position and prospects which appears to have been effected since the establishment of the Pharmaceutical Society.

At the time that Mr. Hawes undertook to set the profession in order, he was supported and urged forward by the advocates of a system, liberal on the one hand and restrictive on the other. According to the plan laid down, a new order of medical men was to be raised up on the basis of the general practitioner, and although Mr. Hawes did not contemplate the annihilation of the existing medical institutions, his measures were calculated indirectly to undermine their influence, and reduce their power,

by creating another channel open to all, by which professional rank and honour might be attained. While the profession was to be thus thrown open, and purged from what are termed its "corruptions," it was also to be protected, by means of stringent prohibitions against unqualified practitioners, enforced by heavy penalties.

These latter measures were chiefly levelled against the Druggists; and were designed, among other objects, to settle the knotty question respecting "counter practice," which has been a subject of dispute from the time of the Apothecaries of the sixteenth century to the present day. It was not supposed that the Druggists could make any effectual resistance on the occasion, as it was considered proverbial that they were a disunited body—that they had no representative government, or means of concentrating their influence. On the other hand, Mr. Hawes and his party, were backed by a large and influential association, the ramifications of which extended throughout the empire, and which had the means of creating a sensation by directing the power of the members into one channel, when a simultaneous effort was found desirable. A notion prevailed to a considerable extent in the profession, that the interests of the two parties were at variance, that in order to elevate and protect the Medical Practitioner, it was necessary to subdue and restrain the Druggist. This *prejudice* had been handed down during nearly two centuries, and the jealousy which existed on both sides, had been a bar to any mutual accommodation or dispassionate argument between the two parties. The medical journals, and even the daily papers, were constantly advocating some effectual legislative measures, and quoting cases illustrative of the ignorance and misdeeds of the Druggists. Although these arguments were frequently one-sided, and the cases highly coloured, they were seldom answered, except, perchance, in an occasional anonymous letter, the pungency of which was taken out during its passage through the press.

Pharmacy stood in a precarious position. Its real representatives—those on whom had devolved the chief responsibility of preparing and compounding medicines, were calumniated on every hand, and threatened with extraneous control, and a variety of restrictions. Even their right to dispense prescriptions was called in question\*, and they held their other privileges on an uncertain tenure. Yet they possessed no means of defence or representation, and although they were all sensible of the disadvantages of their anomalous position, none felt called upon to act for the general welfare.

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\* *Lancet*.

In this state of affairs, the bill of Mr. Hawes came before Parliament, and the Druggists suddenly roused themselves from their state of apathy, and arranged a plan of defence. The effect of this vigorous movement has already been described; but when they had warded off the immediate cause of alarm, the Druggists did not fan the flame of opposition, by keeping up an acrimonious controversy and raising a political faction. They endeavoured to trace the evil to its source, and having discovered that their weakness proceeded chiefly from the want of regular education, as well as the absence of unity among themselves, they turned their attention to the intellectual improvement and organization of the members of their body.

In proportion as these measures advanced, the opposition subsided; a more harmonious feeling sprung up, not only among the Druggists themselves, but between the Druggists and the Medical Profession. We have now almost completed our arrangements for the education of our Members, the Examinations have commenced, a form of representative government is in operation, and our right to regulate the concerns of our own body is undisputed.

This change of circumstances naturally leads us to conclude, that the professional and scientific improvement of the Pharmaceutical Chemist is not incompatible with the interest or friendly relation of the Medical Practitioner; in fact, we have reason to hope that a continuance of the line of conduct which has hitherto been attended with success, will promote an increase of harmony among all parties, and thus prevent a recurrence of those mercenary and political controversies which disgraced the Profession during the last century.

When the Council of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY had brought their arrangements to a state approaching to completion, and felt prepared to prove, by what had been already done, that much public benefit might be expected from the plan which the Society had laid down, they drew up a petition to Her Majesty, which was presented on the 5th of November, 1842, praying for a Royal Charter of Incorporation. Sir James Graham undertook to give the subject his mature attention, and intimated that he should consult some of the leading Members of the Profession, and take other means for forming his opinion as to the public utility of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY, before he could give a definite answer.

On the 1st of December, the Secretary of the Society received an official communication from the HOME OFFICE, requiring his attendance, and was informed that the Petition having been favourably received, the draught of the proposed Charter might be prepared in due form for the consideration of the Secretary of

State. No time was lost in taking this step, and the Charter was approved by Sir James Graham, and also by the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, with a trifling and unimportant alteration. It appeared, however, that a "CAVEAT" had been lodged by some party who suspected that the Society would apply for a Charter, and who was desirous of opposing it.\* But the twelve months during which period such caveat remains valid, had just expired, and, as it had not been renewed, it fell to the ground; and, on the 18th of February, 1843, the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN became a CORPORATE BODY.

This event is important—being the first public recognition of the Chemists and Druggists as the representatives of Pharmacy. It cannot henceforth be said that the Chemists and Druggists have no political existence; and, consequently, in the event of any legislative enactments being proposed, in which their interests are concerned, they may now claim not only to be heard, but to be consulted. By virtue of their Charter, they possess the power of regulating the education and admission of members, and thus providing the public with qualified practitioners in Pharmacy, while they establish an ostensible distinction between the members of their body and unqualified persons. In case of any grievance affecting the individual members in any district, or in any part of the country, and rendering an appeal to the Legislature desirable, there is an effective and official channel through which such appeal can be made; and it may be supposed that the Council of an incorporated Society, representing so large a body as the Chemists and Druggists of the United Kingdom, would possess the advantage of an amount of influence which might, on a great variety of occasions, be beneficially exerted. We have seen, by the specimens already quoted, what would, in all probability, be the nature of a medical bill brought into Parliament by parties who have no community of interests or circumstances with Chemists and Druggists, and who have, on former occasions, endeavoured to introduce measures of a stringent and oppressive character. We have seen that about twelve months ago, measures were taken to restrain the progress of that body, and to impede the acquirement of that political influence which a charter would

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\* It is not improbable that this was the result of the following suggestion contained in the leading article of the *Lancet*, of December 4th, 1841, p. 333.

"The Privy Council should be admonished of the application which may be made for a Charter by the Chemists and Druggists; and, finally, they (the Apothecaries) should pray to be heard, by Counsel, before such a Charter receives the sign-manual of the QUEEN."

It happened, however, that the Council of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY were aware that the proper time for applying for a Charter had not then arrived.

afford. And we need no stronger proof of the propriety and policy of the course which the Chemists and Druggists have lately adopted than the fact, that although it must have been clear to every one that, in the natural course of events, application would be made for a Royal Charter, and although any individual might, at a trifling expense, have lodged a fresh caveat, and thus, to a certain extent, thrown an obstacle in the way of its being granted, yet the proceedings of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY having been confined to the improvement and regulation of the Chemists and Druggists, and divested of any political or party spirit, there was not in the whole medical profession, one man, within the last twelve months, whose conscience would allow him to oppose a measure the tendency of which was so obviously beneficial to the public, and creditable to the profession.

In conclusion, it may be as well to recapitulate the moral which may be drawn from our past history, namely, that *political controversies and mercenary disputes are injurious to the interest and character of all parties—that the most effectual method which any class of men can adopt for securing their political rights, and advancing their professional standing, consists not in disputation and warm argument, but in a steady and persevering attention to intellectual improvement, and the establishment of such regulations as are calculated to ensure collective privileges by increasing the amount of individual merit.*

The Members of the PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY are following in the footsteps of the original Apothecaries. We have the opportunity of profiting by the experience of our predecessors, taking advantage of their example where the result has shown its wisdom, and avoiding any errors into which they may have fallen. Those who are sincere in the desire for the advancement of our own legitimate profession, which is pure PHARMACY, will perceive the importance of confining our attention as much as possible to that pursuit, by which course we shall not only be more likely to attain the object in view, but shall also conciliate the other branches of the profession, and establish an amicable and harmonious relation among all parties.









